

Concordia Theological Monthly



IANUARY · 1959

Concordia Theological Monthly

* On leave of absence

Published by The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

EDITED BY THE FACULTY OF CONCORDIA SEMINARY St. Louis, Mo.

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CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY is published monthly by Concordia Publishing House, 3558 S. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis 18, Mo., to which all business correspondence is to be addressed.

\$3.50 per annum, anywhere in the world, payable in advance.

Second-class postage paid at St. Louis, Mo.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

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Concordia Theological Monthly

VOL. XXX

JANUARY 1959

No. 1

The Batak Protestant Christian Church

By JOSEPH ELLWANGER

HEN the Batak Protestant Christian Church in Indonesia applied for membership in the Lutheran World Federation in 1951, one of the largest Christian church bodies in the non-West was catapulted out of relative obscurity into a limelight position on the stage of world Lutheranism.

Some were quick to question the Lutheran character of the Batak Church. Chiefly they asked these questions: How can the Batak Church be Lutheran when it was founded by the Rhenish Mission Society, a combination of Lutheran and Reformed elements? And how can the Batak Church be Lutheran when it has not officially adopted the 16th-century Lutheran Confessions?

But for all its importance on the scene of world Lutheranism the Batak Church is little known among Lutherans, especially among Lutherans in America. This article is an attempt to acquaint the reader with this body of Christians in Batakland.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

The Bataks are a vital, energetic people numbering some 2,000,000, whose tribal home is the region about Lake Toba in Northern Sumatra. (Sumatra is the large, westernmost island of Indonesia, comprising a land area greater than that of Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana together.) Untouched by Muslim influence until very recently, they maintained their tribal culture, in which cannibalism played a part, and were subdued by the Dutch only at the beginning of the century.¹

The dynamic aggressiveness of the Bataks can be seen in every

¹ Carl E. Lund-Quist, ed. Lutheran Churches of the World (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957), p. 202.

area of their life. This virility of the people is reflected, for instance, in their present program of colonization. The indomitable courage with which they leave their homeland, move hundreds of miles, and then clear the matted jungles and begin life all over again has been compared with the aggressive courage of the early American settlers.²

The wholesome climate and the high altitude of Batakland probably account for much of the vitality of the people. Also, the location in the inaccessible interior of a great island has enhanced their racial solidarity and their cultural and political independence (ibid, p. 416), making for strong-willed, free-thinking people.

The fact that the Bataks have never been swept along with the waves of the Eastern higher religions that have covered Indonesia during the past centuries has meant that the Christian message has

found all the readier the ears of an animistic people.

EARLY LIFE OF BATAK CHURCH

The first attempt to reach the fierce Batak tribes with the Gospel was an abortive effort by two American missionaries, Lyman and Munson, sent out by a church in Boston in 1833. Both men were killed as they approached the first Batak village.

The first missionary to make a successful entry into the interior of Batakland was Ludwig Nommensen, sent out by the Rhenish Missionary Society. The son of a sluicekeeper on an island off the west coast of the isthmus connecting Germany and Denmark, Nommensen entered the land of the Bataks alone in 1864.

During his first year among the Bataks, Nommensen was made to feel as unwelcome as possible. They secretly put poison in his food. (One man who did this and saw that Nommensen did not die was so moved that he listened to the Gospel and became one of the first Batak Christians.) They came in large groups to his bush house and slept with him at night just to be a nuisance. They threatened to burn down his house, and Nommensen retorted that he would simply build it up again.

At a pagan festival held in Nommensen's village it was rumored that Nommensen was to be the human sacrifice that it was cushim to a So I hum

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² Merle J. Davis, *The Economic Basis of the Church* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1939), p. 447.

³ Arn lagsansta

tomary to offer up. Nommensen's three or four friends warned him not to attend the festival. The missionary felt, however, that to avoid the festival would be to show a lack of faith in his God. So he attended. When it was announced that it was time for the human sacrifice, Nommensen stood up and said:

The spirit that summons you to death couldn't possibly be your grandfather, who loves you; for a grandfather does not wish death for his grandchildren. The sacrifice is rather from the devil, who is delighted when men butcher one another. But God loves you and wants to save you from all your misery.³

The Bataks were so impressed by this forthright message of God's love that they offered up no human sacrifices at all.

Nommensen's persistent display of agape gradually drew individuals to him who listened to his message. And on August 27, 1865, four men with their wives and five children were baptized. This Baptism took place only after a thorough study of Luther's Small Catechism and of the Bible. These converts were quickly tested in their young faith. They were driven from their rice fields, their gardens, their orchards, their villages, for leaving the tradition of their elders (ibid., p. 136). This sort of trying persecution was waged also against succeeding converts.

But as in the New Testament days, the severe persecutions purified the young Batak Church, and wherever these young Christians went they witnessed to their Lord Christ.

Nommensen furnishes important clues to his missionary approach in one of his descriptions of a Sunday service:

On Sunday we gather together early after eating and consider with one another a section of the Bible as long as we can until we are disturbed by others. There is no sermon, but instead an edifying hour where each may speak. With song and prayer begun and ended. Afterward the baptized and the catechumens go together into some village in order to speak with younger companions about their soul's salvation. [Ibid., p. 137]

Gradually the growth of the young Batak Church gained momentum. In 1877, though the church was still small in number, Nommensen had the faith and the foresight to establish a theo-

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³ Arno Lehmann, Gottes Volk in Vielen Ländern (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955), p. 135.

logical training school. In 1878 he completed a translation of the Batak New Testament. By 1894 the Rev. P. H. Johannsen had published a Batak translation of the Old Testament.

At the death of Nommensen in 1918 the little Batak Church had grown to include about 180,000 baptized members. The 510 schools had an enrollment of 32,700 pupils. And the church was led by 34 ordained nationals, 788 Batak teachers, and 2,200 elders. (Ibid., p. 143)

It may be stated that no one man helped shape the Batak Church more than did its pioneer missionary Nommensen, who guided it for 54 years. The conviction, the courage, the sympathy of this man still burn strongly in the minds of the Batak Christians. Nommensen's picture is found in nearly all the churches of Batakland today.

In attempting to list the human factors involved in the remarkable growth of the Batak Church, a report for the Madras meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938 states:

The people are endowed with qualities that mark them as a superior race. Energy, independence, self-confidence, aggressiveness, and a direct approach to the problems of their environment are traits which ensure the progress of the people in the Christian life.

The salubrious climate and the high elevation of their country has undoubtedly contributed to the energy of the Bataks and their capacity for action.

The location in the inaccessible interior of a great island has enhanced their racial solidarity and their cultural and political independence.

The primitive, animistic nature of the religion of four-fifths of the population, as contrasted with the Islamic faith and culture of their neighbors.

The honoring by the church of the customary law of the people and its incorporation with Christian teaching and practice.

The early recognition that the support of the church was their responsibility and that the Rhenish Mission was a source of spiritual and not material aid.

The policy of protection and aid on the part of a sympathetic government.

The church is the cultural as well as the spiritual home of the community.

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The activity of the layman in the life of the church.

The genius for colonization.

The missionary enthusiasm of the Batak Church and missionary qualities of the people. [Davis, p. 416]

All of these human factors that combined to create a growing church are, of course, gifts of an almighty and loving God. But God used Nommensen to help produce at least five of these factors. It was Nommensen who first honored the people's customs and laws that agreed with Scripture. It was Nommensen who led the people to see their responsibility to support their church. It was Nommensen who urged the people to continue their folk dances and folk songs. It was Nommensen who encouraged from the very beginning much lay and missionary activity.

In 1930 the church was given a constitution. The Ephorus (a bishop with a limited term) was, however, a German missionary until 1939, when the outbreak of war brought tremendous changes to the church. The German missionaries were withdrawn, and in the testing fires of war, Japanese occupation, and several years' unrest and fighting in the Indonesian war for independence, the Batak Church became a truly independent church. (Lund-Quist, p. 203)

PRESENT LIFE OF THE BATAK CHURCH

The Batak Protestant Christian Church is now the largest Lutheran church body outside the Western world. It numbers almost 700,000 bronze Christians, with over 1,100 congregations, 160 ordained ministers (ibid.), 1,500 teacher-preachers and catechists, 40 Bible women, and about 9,000 elders. Its present head is the revered Ephorus Dr. Justus Sihombing, whose headquarters are in Tarutung, in the heart of rice-farming Batakland.

In 1956, 60 men graduated from the theological training institution of the church, which has been relocated and is now being developed, with LWF, Rhenish Mission, and Batak staff, in Siantar. The seminary project is one of several reconstruction and development programs which are being carried out with LWF aid. (Lund-Quist, p. 203)

Rhenish mission policy and Batak hunger for education has made

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⁴ Abdel Ross Wentz, ed., *The Lutheran Churches of the World*, 1952 (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1952), p. 263.

the Batak school system the most extensive in Indonesia. Batak teachers are found throughout the nation. In 1954 the Batak school system was capped by the establishment of Nommensen University. (Ibid.)

The Batak Church applied for membership in LWF in 1951. Although Luther's Small Catechism had always been used by the Batak Church and although the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism had been included in the 1930 constitution as confessional bases, the Batak Church chose to draw up its own confession for admission into LWF. The Confession of Faith of the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant, adopted by the Great Synod in November 1951, at Sipoholon-Tarutung, was the first indigenous Asian confession ever drawn up.

INNER LIFE OF BATAK CHURCH

A German pastor who visited the Batak church shortly after World War II stated that many things "indicate that a rich inner life pulsates in these congregations." (Lehmann, p. 144)

To bear out his observation the pastor points to a prominent youth activity that is far more than mere activity:

A large number of younger girls and fellows have founded a youth organization for themselves. "Tools of Christ" they call themselves. They are taught in an evening on a special topic. Chiefly Bible knowledge of the Old and New Testaments is shared. Along with that, church history is studied to a great extent. Then they are instructed practically on how one invites heathen and lax Christians to God's Word. On Sunday evenings these young people go through villages that are close to them and invite people to visit the worship celebration. Also in the week they go into houses and tell of the Lord Christ. It is astounding with what eagerness and devotion they carry out this service as tools of Christ. [Ibid.]

Fredrik Schiotz, visiting the Bataks as one of two LWF representatives in 1949, reported that the Ephorus, in his messages to the pastors and the people, reflected "an alert concern for the life and faith of his people." ⁵ For instance, the Batak Church head stressed the necessity for the faithful use of the family altar and sounded an alarm against the tendency to revert to paganism.

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⁵ Fredrik A. Schiotz, "A Visit Among the Bataks in Indonesia," *Lutheran World Review*, II (July 1949), 48.

In the very early days of the church the practice of ringing the church bell at regular intervals each day to remind the people to meditate and pray was conscientiously observed. Wherever the people were when the bell rang—in the field, at home, on the road—they would stop and pray. But this custom has fallen into disuse in most communities.

Church attendance is very high — from 90 to 95 per cent of the people every Sunday.

The church leaders in 1938 felt compelled to limit the celebration of the Lord's Supper to only two or three times a year "in the effort to keep these as holy days and to avoid their secularization" (Davis, p. 442). Reportedly recent converts from paganism often regard the elements of the Eucharist as magical medicine for sin.

MISSIONARY OUTREACH

The Batak Church has been a witnessing church from the beginning. Part of Nommensen's Bible and catechetical study was an actual sending out of the young Christians to witness to their Lord Christ.

In 1899 a Batak missionary movement was begun in the Samosir Island, Simalungun, and Dairi districts, where Christians are still a minority. Since 1921 this movement has been called the Zending Batak (Batak Missionary Society). It is now the foreign mission agency of the church, with a field in the Mentawei Island group west of Sumatra. The older mission fields have gradually been assimilated into the Batak Church as districts. (Lund-Quist, p. 202)

In 1938 Merle Davis reported to the IMC that the Batak Church had caught a vision of the whole Batak race under the sway of Christ and that they were pressing toward this goal. At that time 50 to 60 Batak missionaries were being supported from the annual missionary budget of over 20,000 guilders. (Davis, p. 449)

Numerous examples of remarkable witnessing have been recorded in various sources. During the Japanese occupation, for instance, a village suspected by the Japanese to contain an Allied informer was lined up before a firing squad and given five minutes to divulge the information. The Christians of the village instinctively fell upon their knees and calmly commended their souls in prayer to the grace of God. The example made such an impression on the

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pagans of the village, who pleaded with the Christians to pray for them, that after the Japanese miraculously did not fulfill their threat, 500 of the pagan villagers began their baptismal instruction. (Lehmann, p. 144)

In the following report the mission challenge that confronts the Batak Church is clearly described.

You might almost say that the Batak church stands today where the early church stood at the Jerusalem Council: a homogeneous, tribal church standing on the threshold of moving out into the Gentile world. It is a one-people, one-language, one-adat community, but as the Christian body in Sumatra, destined to become something more.

It may be that in facing this cultural revolution and, even more, in accepting her missionary responsibility for those outside the tribal boundaries, the Batak church may be forced into a theological era. Up to now, as with most younger churches, theology has been an imported commodity. But a living theology cannot be imported; in fact, it is doubtful it can be taught. It simply arises when the church confronts the world, when she seeks to express her faith in intelligible terms for the edification of her own constituency and for proclaiming the truths of Jesus Christ to those outside.⁶

CLINGING ANIMISTIC AND PAGAN BELIEFS

The problem of recurring animism plagues the Batak Church everywhere, but especially in certain communities where "mass" conversions have taken place and the instruction has been rather superficial. The remedy that the Batak Church was applying to this situation in 1938 was

to place the best trained Batak ministers among these people for personal teaching in their homes, for Bible study classes and the training of the children. All who wish to be confirmed must attend classes twice a week for a whole year. These classes give instruction in the nature of Christianity, in personal and community conduct, and in the Bible. [Davis, p. 441]

In the matter of parental discipline the tenacity of animistic beliefs seems especially clear. It is probably the result of these beliefs that so many Batak parents do everything their children and off in with part

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⁶ Keith Bridston, "A Younger Church in Stormy Seas," Lutheran World, II (Spring 1955), 74.

demand or desire and consequently the children do not obey their parents.

According to animistic belief the soul is pre-existent, self-willed, and will continue to live after the death of the body. To offend a child's desires therefore is to offend the child's soul, and this offense might cause the soul to leave the body for spite, resulting in the child's sickness or death. Christian parents, of course, without holding to the animistic belief, may easily continue the pattern of pampering.

THE "ADAT"

The unwritten ethical code of conduct for the Bataks is called the adat. With slight changes in the adat it became possible to put the seal of Christ upon these rules of conduct. Church organization, attendance, and discipline, the prerogatives and duties of the pastor, church official, and member, have all found their way into the adat, along with the ancient Batak sanctions. That the German missionaries decided to Christianize the adat and to use it as a basic moral code has been hailed as a "notable decision, since under it the Batak people could be brought into the church without severing them from their inheritance." (Davis, p. 119)

Christianizing a pagan moral code seems like a process plagued with the pitfalls of syncretism. But two characteristics of the *adat* made it fairly safe for the missionaries to Christianize it. Unlike most pagan codes of conduct, the Batak adat hardly touched on idol worship and sacrifice to the gods and enjoined fidelity in the marriage relationship and provided a strict code of public morals. (Ibid., p. 637)

The adat was considered by Rhenish missionaries as a divine revelation — marred by man's sin. And the Bataks themselves saw very clearly that it fell far short of God's revelation in Scripture and in Jesus Christ.

When the Bataks first heard the Ten Commandments, while admitting their superiority, they remarked on their similarity to the common law. When told of the saving power of Christ, they said: "Our adat tells us to do this and not to do that but gives us

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⁷ Andar Lumbantobing, "Christian Education in the Batak Church," Lutheran World, II (Autumn 1955), 293.

no power to follow its commands. Christ's adat is like ours, and even more exacting, but He gives men power to obey." [Ibid.]

In its Confession of Faith the Batak Church states very clearly: "We also oppose the idea that the church should be based on the adat." (Art. VIII, Sec. A, Par. 4)

As carefully, however, as the missionaries apparently purified the adat, the people undoubtedly did not forget some of the discarded portions of the adat. Julia Sarumpaet-Hutabarat, leader of Batak Christian women, in addressing an assembly of Batak women in 1955, warned them not to take seriously the disgrace which the adat heaps upon mothers without sons and urged the women to understand the freedom that women have in Christ:

We women — we refuse to be used by the *adat* as a tool for the enlargement of our tribe. We are free people, redeemed by Christ. We do not want to be tools used by men, since we are now to be handmaids of the Lord, to praise His name, to do His will, and to expand His kingdom.

This makes us worthwhile—this is an honor above all things which cannot be taken from us by anyone.8

Though the pastors and leaders of the Batak Church are very certain about the difference between the old adat and the adat of Jesus Christ, the ongoing problem of the church is to make this distinction clear in the minds of the people.

THE YOUTH

In their visit to Batakland in 1948, two LWF representatives noted especially among the younger pastors and teachers an anxious concern for the youth in their parishes and for the young men who serve in the army. (Schiotz, p. 48)

In 1938 Merle Davis of the IMC could confidently assert that "some are drifting away, but on the whole the Batak Church is holding its youth." Davis observed that when the youth leave their family environment, where they are often indifferent or hypercritical toward their faith, and meet Mohammedans and Roman Catholics, they become more serious about their faith. These new contacts compel them to think and to examine the basis of

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⁸ Julia Sarumpaet-Hutabarat, "Women under the Adat," Lutheran World, I (Summer 1955), 125.

their belief. "Until they have to fight for their faith, they find it easy to be indifferent or skeptical of its value." (Ibid.)

Andar Lumbantobing, writing for the *Lutheran World* in 1958, gives a firsthand, up-to-date picture of the church's task of holding the youth:

During the Japanese occupation youth work suffered so grievously that only ruins remained. The new system claimed the time of young people to such a degree that their strength and all their interest had to be devoted exclusively to the new ideas. Thus the youth became indifferent to all religion. Dissolution spread when the fight for liberty with the Dutch government began. Indonesia's freedom demanded all one's thought and time. [See fn. 7 above]

This same Lumbantobing was so distressed about the pitifully low Bible knowledge among the Batak youth that he felt even four years of confirmation instruction, instead of the usual two, would not likely remedy the situation. He noted, too, that many of the teachers, since the Japanese occupation and independence, have drifted from the church. (Ibid.)

FINANCES

Though the Batak Church has met its financial needs for many years, the problem of progress in this area is pressing. The financial needs cannot but grow as the progressive Bataks emigrate from their mountain valleys to the cities and the church becomes progressively urban. At present no less than 100 churches are under construction or repair, without aid from abroad. (Lund-Quist, p. 204)

The LWF has assisted the Batak Church in its financial problems, especially to help make possible Nommensen University with its three faculties — theology, economics, and technology.

A special strain was placed on the financial program of the Batak Church soon after the war for independence, when the church was forced to support one of two mission hospitals and 28 clinics which previously had been supported by the Dutch government.

LEADERSHIP

The pattern of leadership in the Batak Church has been basically the same since the beginning. Now the ordained pastor serves 8 to 14 congregations, but each congregation has its own teacher-

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preacher, who serves in the capacity of a pastor except for administering the Sacraments. Lay presbyters work very closely with the teacher-preacher in each congregation in making calls, taking care of finances, and the like. The 1,100 congregations average about 625 baptized members apiece.

Rajah B. Manikam, in his report on the Asian Lutheran churches in *Lutheran Churches of the World*, believes that the lay leadership of the Batak congregations that has worked so well in the past will not be satisfactory in the future (ibid.). The development of Nommensen University's theological faculty promises to help meet the need for an increased number of trained ministers.

Up to the present the teacher-preachers and the other teachers have been trained in college for three years. The best of these teachers are then selected, after ten years' experience, for a special theological training of two years. After this time they are ordained and placed in their parish of 8 to 14 congregations. A few of the pastors have studied six years at the theological college in Djakarta.⁹

NATIONALISM

A thread that can be seen running through all the facets of the life of the Batak Church is nationalism. The fight for freedom has drawn the attention of the youth. The freedom movement has lured many Christian teachers away from their faith in Jesus Christ to faith in rational enlightenment and in self-government.

The surge for independence ran high in the minds of the Bataks even before 1935. By that time a group of 75 congregations had broken away from the Batak Church because the people felt that the missionaries were desiring to hold them back.¹⁰

It seems clear that the leaders of the Batak Church have not been swept off their feet by the radical tide of nationalism. They consider themselves Christians first and Indonesians second. The church leaders went out of their way to make two representatives of the LWF welcome right in the midst of the fierce, emotional war for independence. The church stood the risk of being labeled "pro-Western" and "procolonial" in welcoming a Westerner at that freedom-pitched time.

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The Growing Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 134.
 Alexander McLeisch, ed. The Netherlands Indies (London: World Dominion Press, 1935), p. 121.

But nationalism is not only a problem for the Batak Church. It is also an asset. The drive for independence by Indonesians that spilled over into the life of the Bataks was well channeled into a drive to become a self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing church.

EXTENT OF REFORMED INFLUENCE

To say that the life and teachings of the Batak Church have not been influenced at all by the Reformed elements in some of the Rhenish missionaries is to be blind to the inevitable. Winburn Thomas stated recently that "each of the missions operating in Indonesia has had a strong 'Reformed' base," including the "Rhenish mission, which was the parent of the Batak Church." ¹¹

On the other hand, Merle Davis, writing his own impressions of the Batak Church's theology as part of a report to the 1938 Tambaram conference of the IMC, stated that "the influence of Lutheran theology is evident in the work of the mission." (Davis, p. 420)

In order to determine the extent of Reformed influence on the Batak Church, it is not really valid to try to find out how much Reformed theology has rubbed off on some of the people and their pastors. This testing of the theology of individuals would find any Lutheran church body short of Lutheranism. Rather one must study the confession of the church, its standard of teaching: Confession of Faith of the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant, adopted in 1951.

It is true that some churches have token symbols that are not taken seriously and therefore cannot be used as criteria for judging the church's actual teachings. But there is no indication that the Batak Church considers its symbol lightly. On the contrary, its confession stresses the fact that it is to be used as a basis in preaching, teaching, and public life and as the basis on which to "reject every false doctrine and heresy that is contrary to God's Word." (Preamble, Pars. 3, 4)

Concerning the Scriptures, the Batak confession states that "the words written in the Bible . . . are certainly words of God." It emphasizes the doctrine that "the Holy Scripture is completely

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Winburn T. Thomas, "Indonesia and the Indonesian Church in Today's World," Occasional Bulletin, IX (Feb. 10, 1958), 6.

sufficient to reveal God's being and His will and . . . instruct what to believe to gain eternal life." (Art. IV)

The Confession of Faith states emphatically that it rejects "the doctrine that the Holy Spirit can descend upon somebody through his own preparation beyond the Gospel." (Art. III, Sec. C)

The sacraments are regarded very highly. According to the confession the second feature of the true church, after the pure preaching of the Gospel, is "the proper administering of the sacraments ordered by the Lord Jesus" (Art. VIII, Sec. D). The second aspect of the church's service, after the preaching of the Gospel, is "the administering of the two sacraments." (Art. IX)

The confession speaks of the sacraments as means of God's grace in these terms: "The Lord Jesus Christ has ordered them for His congregation in order to grant His invisible grace, namely: remission of sin, redemption, life and glory, which are to be won by faith, through visible signs." (Art. IX)

The sacramental presence of Christ in the elements of the Eucharist is affirmed by the confession: "The holy communion is the eating of the bread by means of which we are given the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the drinking of the wine by means of which we are given the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby we receive redemption from sin, and life, and glory." (Art. X, Sec. B)

Contrary to the unionistic latitudinarianism common to some Reformed churches, the Batak confession stresses as one of the responsibilities of the church "the preserving of pure doctrine, the exercise of proper discipline and the opposing of false doctrine." (Art. IX)

The confession rejects many false teachings that are assaulting the Batak Church, including the errors of animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, legalistic sectarian bodies, and Roman Catholicism. It also maintains a Scriptural stand on church unity:

There is one Church. The basis is Ephesians 4:4; 1 Cor. 12:20 There is one body, that is the Church, and even though there are many members, there is but one body.

This unity of the Church is different from secular unity, because it is a spiritual unity. (John 17:20, 21)

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and exp According to this doctrine we reject any separations of churches that are not based on differences of faith, but only on external reasons. (Art. VIII, Sec. D)

In matters of ceremony the Batak confession breathes the true Lutheran spirit of freedom. And instead of a Reformed deprecation of ceremony the confession encourages observance of the church year and the use of "a church order [apparently an order of service] which is based upon the Holy Scriptures." (Art. XI)

It is true that the confession of the Batak Church nowhere rejects Reformed theology. Nor is it an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of Christianity. In certain places the meaning of the terminology or the import of the statement is not very clear-cut—due in part, undoubtedly, to translation difficulties and also to the non-Western cultural background against which it is written.

But as a confession written by a church less than 100 years old against the assaults of extreme nationalism, animism, perverted Roman Catholicism, and legalistic sectarianism, the Batak confession seems to be a remarkable Biblical assertion of the Christian faith according to the Lutheran tradition — untrammeled by Reformed theology.

WHY NOT OTHER LUTHERAN SYMBOLS?

The Batak confession in its preamble subscribes to the three ecumenical creeds as confessional bases, but the confession makes no mention of the 16th-century Lutheran Confessions. Why not? Paul C. Empie, executive director of the National Lutheran Council, speaking on behalf of LWF, explained it this way:

When the Batak church first applied for membership [in LWF], its application was denied on the ground that its constitution did not contain a doctrinal basis in harmony with the Lutheran Confessions. After some years of study the Batak church revised its constitution, incorporating the essential elements of the Lutheran Confessions as its doctrinal basis, phrased in its own terminology. For obvious reasons it preferred not to use Western terminology at a time when in many parts of the Far East resurgent nationalism looks with suspicion on churches which have ties with the West and at times accuses Christianity of being merely the religious expression of Western colonial nations. The LWF Membership Committee chaired by the late Bishop Hans Meiser studied this

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constitution carefully and reported its judgment that although the explicit language of the Augsburg Confession is not used therein, the essential substance is in fact there so that the Batak church may be regarded as meeting the requirements of LWF membership. 12

Empie claims that the Batak Church in accepting the LWF constitution, which includes the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other confessions of the *Book of Concord* as confessional bases, "has officially indicated its acceptance of the historic Confessions of the Lutheran Church." (Ibid.)

The drive for freedom in Southeast Asia and the aggressive independence of the Batak people is advanced as a reason to explain why the Batak Church drew up its own confession. It also reflects a desire for a living, indigenous confession, which speaks the church's faith to the problems and culture of its environment. It is furthermore urged that the omission of the 16th-century confessions should be considered in the light of the non-West's reaction against everything peculiarly Western and of the Batak Church's concern not to throw a Western block in the way of the universal Gospel.

A LIVING CHURCH WITH A MISSION

The foundations of the young, virile Batak Church were well laid by Nommensen and other pioneer missionaries. Bible study, active lay witnessing, and prayer are trademarks of the Batak Church. The church has declared itself Lutheran and has drawn up a confession to meet its own needs. Now it has a mission to perform. In the face of radical nationalism, clinging animism, Roman Catholicism, Adventist and Pentecostal legalism, and onrushing Mohammedanism, the Batak Church stands poised to carry the Gospel to all Indonesia and into the rest of the world.

Birmingham, Ala.

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¹² Paul C. Empie, "Comments on the Missouri Synod's Study Outline Re the LWF," American Lutheran, XLI (June 1958), 8 f.

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A Lutheran Contribution to the Present Discussions on the Lord's Supper

By HERMANN SASSE

THE Lord's Supper has again become one of the main issues among the churches of Christendom as well as within individual denominations. This is the result of two movements which, though deeply rooted in the 19th century, have shaped the life of all Christendom since the beginning of this century: the Liturgical and the Ecumenical Movement. Since the deepest motive underlying both is what has been called "the awakening of the Church in the souls," future church historians may regard them as branches of one great movement which, like all great movements in the Western Church (Reformation, Pietism, Rationalism, etc.), sweep through the whole of Christendom, regardless of national or denominational borderlines.

The modern Liturgical Movement in the Roman Church began with Pius X. It is certainly not accidental that the "pope of the Eucharist" was also the stanch fighter against Modernism. He started the fight in 1903, a few weeks after his great reform of the liturgy had begun. The longing of the best minds of the Roman Church for a closer contact with, and a greater influence on, modern man (which at that time could not be satisfied in the fields of Biblical studies and dogmatics) found an outlet in the field of the liturgy. Whilst theological scholarship turned from the danger zone of doctrinal Modernism to the less dangerous fields of liturgiology and there achieved surprising results, the devotional life of the entire Roman Church, since the end of World War I, underwent a profound change, the characteristic feature of which is an astonishing renewal of the Eucharistic life at the expense of lower forms of devotion.

The parallels in the Protestant churches are evident. They can by no means be explained by Roman influence, though the impact of the Roman movement has become strong in the course of time.

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For even outside the churches there are most interesting parallels indicative of a deep change in the inner life of modern mankind. This change may be called the turn from subject to object. At the same time when in Roman Catholic churches the high altar began to be replaced by the mensa of the ancient church, the priest saying Mass facing the people, it could happen that in a "Scoto-Catholic" church the Reformed table was replaced by a high altar. In either case the ecclesiastical authorities had great difficulties in turning the minister around. It may be a consolation to other churches that Rome even today, 30 years after the constitution Divini cultus and despite the rules laid down in Mediator Dei (1947), has to combat "certain misguided enthusiasts" who "interfere with the liturgy in an unauthorized way," as Archbishop Simonds of Melbourne has put it in May 1958. Pius XII, continuing the work of his predecessor, has strongly emphasized that the rule of Celestine I, "Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi" (Denzinger 139 and 2200) must also be inverted: The rule of faith constitutes the rule of prayer. It is most significant that the present pope in Humani generis (1952) had to defend even the Real Presence against certain trends in modern Catholicism which would make "the consecrated species ... merely efficacious signs of the spiritual presence of Christ."

Similar difficulties that have arisen in many Lutheran churches are due to the neglect of the truth that the rule of faith must remain the rule of prayer. It is a deplorable fact that some Lutheran theologians, while accepting Roman, Eastern, and meaningless Anglican elements, have left it to Roman Catholic scholars to discover Luther's greatness as liturgist and the importance of the old Lutheran liturgy. A liturgical movement which is not based upon the confession of the church is bound to go astray. A renewal of the Sacrament of the Altar in the Lutheran Church must go hand in hand with a new understanding of the doctrine of the sacrament.

If, thus, the Liturgical Movement was bound to provoke new discussions of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the Ecumenical Movement has had the same effect. It is true that this movement, as long as it was dominated by Anglican theology, was interested in the practical issues of intercommunion rather than in doctrinal discussions on the sacrament. The Eucharist, so we are told, has been instituted to be celebrated, not to be speculated on. Nowhere

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did the *lex orandi lex credendi* play a greater part than in the Anglican churches after they had practically abandoned the Thirtynine Articles with their definitely Reformed doctrine on the Lord's Supper. The modern union churches that follow more or less the Anglican pattern (South India, Ceylon, the proposals for North India-Pakistan and for Australia) determine the liturgical requirements and the *minister sacramenti* but leave the understanding of the presence of Christ and of the gift of the sacrament to the individual minister and communicant.

However, as soon as Lutherans or serious Presbyterians and Reformed are invited to join such a union, doctrinal discussions become inevitable. This is also the experience of the European churches. When in 1933 the Federation of the Evangelical Churches in Germany (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund) of 1922 was transformed into the German Evangelical Church (Deutsche Evangelische Kirche), a discussion of the problem of the Lord's Supper was not envisaged, though the question of intercommunion had become urgent. Even when in the following year the Confessional Synod of Barmen, under the leadership of Karl Barth, gave its interpretation of the new body in the Barmen Declaration, no mention was made of the sacrament, since "the controversy was not about the Lord's Supper" (Barth).

But soon the question came up and divided the Confessing Church. When a confessional synod of the Prussion Union in 1937 declared full intercommunion among the various denominations, a new discussion of the Sacrament of the Altar began, with the result that when after the war the German Evangelical Church was to be replaced by the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD), an "obligatory discussion of the Lord's Supper" (verbinaliches Abendmahlsgespräch) was demanded to settle the question that had divided Protestantism since 1529. Several official meetings of theologians were held, but no result has been reached. However, the literary discussion is going on in Germany as well as throughout the world.

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It is one of the great tragedies of Lutheranism that this challenge comes to it at a moment when it may be least able to meet it. What a revelation is contained in the words which were spoken by ne *Tl*. 19

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ecun pari Dr. H. W. Gensichen of Heidelberg, formerly of Madras, at Minneapolis ("The Unity of the Church in Christ," Messages of the Third Assembly [Minneapolis: The Lutheran World Federation, 1957], p. 48):

On the one hand, we Lutherans claim that our doctrine of the Lord's Supper approaches most closely the intentions of the Lord, and we have in the course of history drawn very sharp lines of distinction over against those who disagree with our doctrine. But, on the other hand, we ourselves are today perhaps farther than ever removed from complete agreement on the traditional Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Today there is at least one Lutheran Church which has reached agreement on the Lord's Supper with its Calvinistic neighbor church, not to mention various types of "emergency" intercommunion practiced in diaspora regions or in young churches. There are Lutheran Churches which "really see no obstacle to intercommunion with the Anglican Church." Some present-day Lutheran exegetes assert that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as stated in the Confessions, does not do full justice to the Biblical witness. And then there are many other Lutherans who view all this as deplorable apostasy from the faith of the fathers.

The proper way to redeem this situation would seem to be a thorough re-examination of the doctrine that every Lutheran has learned from the Catechism and every pastor has solemnly pledged to teach upon his ordination. How can Lutheranism speak to other churches without having first reached agreement within its own ranks? It is most disappointing that the corresponding thesis of Minneapolis (II, 6, p. 106) does not envisage an attempt to heal this wound of our own church. Rather it pushes on the problem to an ecumenical level:

In an ecumenical study of the Scriptures we find the most helpful means towards a fuller realization of the unity in Christ and towards a fuller realization of our faith as found in and behind our confessional statements. On this basis also the question of intercommunion and the nature of the Sacraments can be brought out of the present deadlock. For our Lutheran Churches it is a congenial and timely task to participate in and initiate such ecumenical studies—on the highest theological, as well as on the parish level. [Emphasis added]

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In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the present author wants to emphasize that he has no objection against an "ecumenical study of the Scriptures" — to his knowledge all true Biblical scholarship since the Reformation has been a constant exchange of thought between the theologians of various churches, including Rome. He himself confesses that he has learned much, and precisely with regard to the sacraments, from other churches and that he has never published anything on that subject, including this article, without having talked it over with Reformed and Roman Catholic colleagues. He does object to the superficial methods of modern conferences in which the profoundest questions are briefly debated and hurriedly decided, and to the superstitious belief that if Christians of different persuasions are gathered around the Bible, the Holy Spirit will certainly guide them into truth. He can do that, but ubi et quando visum est Deo, and He will most certainly not do it if on the "parish level" Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers meet in order to bring "out of the deadlock" insoluble problems, especially if they do not realize that they have quite different ideas of the authority of Holy Scripture and that they do not understand one another's language when using terms like "Gospel," "church," "sacrament," "Real Presence." Such methods will not lead to another Pentecost but to a Babylonian confusion of tongues.

III

Under these circumstances, what can the Lutheran contribution to the worldwide Eucharistic discussions of our time be? If the present generation of Lutherans cannot speak because the *magnus consensus* of the Confessions has been lost, we could perhaps learn something from the fathers and ask: What do the controversies of the 16th century teach us? Why were the discussions of that time bound to fail? We should never forget that they failed to reach the much-desired unity, although the participants were nearer to one another than we are to them.

When in 1929 at Marburg the fourth centenary of the great colloquy was celebrated, it was the delegate from Zürich, Emil Brunner, who called the attention of that big meeting, composed of representatives of many Protestant churches of Europe and America, to the necessity of first reaching that amount of agreement

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which existed among the Reformers before we could hope to solve the problems they had not been able to solve.

How can we hope to reach agreement on the Lord's Supper as long as we are not agreed on the authority of the Word of God? May I be allowed to make clear what this means by relating a personal experience. When the great discussion on the Lord's Supper was going on after the last war in Germany, I met an outstanding New Testament scholar whose personal piety, learning, and character are held in high esteem by all who know him. As we both had written on the Eucharist in the New Testament and were continuing our studies, our conversation soon turned to that problem. I asked him whether he still maintained that the Last Supper must be understood as a parabolical action of our Lord and the words of institution consequently must be taken in a figurative sense. He replied in the affirmative. To the question whether 1 Cor. 10:16 f. and 11:27 taught clearly that the bread is the body, because partaking of the blessed bread is partaking of the body, and unworthy eating and drinking involves a sinning against the body and blood of the Lord, he answered that he had not yet reached a full explanation of the latter passage but was convinced that Paul, on the whole, had a parabolical and figurative understanding. The question whether somewhere in the New Testament the literal and realistic understanding was present was answered again in the affirmative. This was to be found John 6:51 b-58, where Jesus speaks no longer of His person but suddenly of His flesh as the bread of life. This passage, with its realistic understanding of the Eucharist, however, ought to be regarded as an insertion into the original text of the Fourth Gospel, he added, a view held by many scholars, e. g., Bultmann. He knew, of course, that this is a mere hypothesis without any basis in textual evidence. The theological objection that for the Lutheran Church the text, as contained in the best manuscripts, is the normative Word of God was pushed aside, and the question what, then, the normative authority was, met with the answer "the words of the historic Jesus." This had been the answer given by Harnack at the beginning of the century.

This episode reveals more than anything else the tragedy of much modern Lutheran theology. No revival of Biblical studies, no rediscovery of the Reformation, no Luther renaissance, has been

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able to restore the *sola Scriptura*. We should not have mentioned that episode, were it not characteristic of the discussions that have been going on since 1937. Many scholars, even very critical scholars, find somewhere in the New Testament that realistic concept of the sacrament which is, as St. Ignatius shows, present in the liturgy of Antioch at the beginning of the second century. Some found it with St. Paul (Heitmüller, Weinel, Lietzmann, Käsemann), others with St. John (Bultmann, Jeremias, and many others). Lohmeyer in his commentary on Mark realizes that in 14:22 "is" cannot mean "signifies."

Just as in the 16th century the adversaries of the Lutheran doctrine were agreed on the rejection of the literal understanding of the words of institution, but disagreed as to what they actually ment, so today the exegetes are not able to find agreement as to what the alleged parable contained in those words actually means. In the 16th century Luther and Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Bucer, Melanchthon and Calvin, Andreae and Beza, the Anglican and, in this case, even the Roman theologians, were convinced that there is one doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the New Testament, that St. Paul's commentary on the words of Jesus cannot contradict our Lord Himself. This common conviction was the basis of all debates. Modern Protestantism has lost that basis. There is a doctrine of Jesus, a doctrine of Paul, and of John — but where is the doctrine of the New Testament? Along with the authority of the Scriptures, with the sola Scriptura, the Bible itself is destroyed.

Nobody denies the achievements of exegetical and historical scholarship. We know better than anyone in the 16th century was able to know the linguistic and historic background of the New Testament passages, the Jewish and Old Testament presuppositions, the eschatology of the New Testament and the liturgy of the earliest church. But all these great achievements, instead of helping us to reach a fuller understanding of the sacrament, lead us away from the main issue, because we are so remote from an understanding of the authority of Holy Scripture that the question must arise whether this authority has not been better preserved by Rome than by modern Lutheranism.¹ There is no possibility of bringing "out of

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Another example is the discussion of the problem of ordination of women. One of the oldest Lutheran churches has put the question, after its bishops failed to reach unanimity on that issue, to the LWF, the WCC, and even to

the present deadlock" the question of the sacrament unless we have first rediscovered what for our fathers was "the only judge, rule, and standard according to which, as the only test stone, all dogmas must be discerned and judged."

IV

The second thing we have to learn from our fathers is the clear statement of the *status controversiae*. The issue is not whether the Lord's Supper is a remembrance of Christ's atoning death. All churches of Christendom are agreed on that. One has only to think of the anamnesis in the various liturgies or the doctrine of Trent on the Mass as the *memoria* of the sacrifice of Calvary. Gratefully we accept what modern linguistic scholarship has discovered concerning the Biblical meaning of ἀνάμνησις as something more than a mere remembrance of a historic event or person. But we all agree that to remember Christ means more than to remember Socrates. That is the reason why all churches teach a presence or even a real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

Nor is the issue the understanding of this sacrament as "communion." How much Luther made use of the beautiful old imagery of the bread made from many grains, the wine made from many grapes, his sermons on the sacrament show. This side of the sacrament could have been stressed more in the Confessions, but it is there, as the quotation from St. Cyril of Alexandria on John 15 in the Apology (X 3) shows. In the Middle Ages also this aspect of the sacrament is not dealt with in the doctrinal works (e. g., Aquinas' Summa theologica), but in the devotional literature. Even the eschatological aspect of the sacrament is present in the old doctrine and in the liturgy. The "Come, Lord Jesus" has always belonged to this sacrament, in which our Lord anticipates His coming in glory on the "Day of the Lord" (cf. Rev. 1:10 and Amos 5:18) by coming in the Lord's Supper to His church: "Benedictus, qui

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secular organizations. Even if it were technically possible for the ecumenical organizations to give a reply—the LWF comprises churches which have no objection against such ordinations, and others which have, to say nothing of the WCC—the fathers would have consulted Holy Scripture. For them the question would have been definitely settled by the apostolic injunction 1 Cor. 14:34 ff., especially since St. Paul, who in such cases clearly distinguishes between his counsels and the commandements of the Lord (1 Cor. 7:10 ff.), in this case expressly states that "the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord." This is the answer Rome would give.

venit in nomine Domini." Thus the future glory becomes in a way a present reality, the Lord's Supper becoming "heaven on earth (Le ciel sur la terre, as S. Bulgakow has described it in harmony with Scriver's prayer, Dass dein Abendmahl mein Himmel auf Erden werde).

Also as to the fruits of the sacrament there is hardly any difference, except that the Lutheran Church, with the Eastern Church, emphasizes the importance of this sacrament for our eternal life (see the understanding of the *caro vivifica* of John 6, Formula of Concord, SD VIII 59, 76; Large Catechism, Sacrament of the Altar, 68; cp. Catalog of Testimonies III).

There is much more agreement on the Sacrament of the Altar between the churches than generally is assumed, and such agreement may be stated for encouragement. Such statements, however, should never be made for the purpose of minimizing or concealing the real point at issue. The status controversiae is today, as it was in the 16th century, the question whether the consecrated bread is the body, the consecrated wine is the blood of Christ. This all-important issue should not be obscured by employing terms like "Real Presence" or "eating the body in a spiritual manner" before their meaning is clarified. For these terms are used by various churches in various meanings. The status controversiae must be as clear as it was at Marburg when Luther at the beginning of the colloquy took chalk and wrote on the table the words Hoc est corpus meum and covered them with the tablecloth to produce them at the decisive moment of the debate.

V

It is not customary today, when speaking of the Eucharistic controversies of the 16th century in view of a continuation of those discussions, to look first at Marburg. There Luther and Zwingli met. The present Reformed churches are not Zwinglian but Calvinist. They even reject Zwingli. However, it must be asked whether Calvin's negative verdict on Zwingli was wholly justified. Has the Reformer of Geneva, who was not able to read Zwingli's German, done full justice to the Reformer of Zürich? Since the second volume of W. Köhler's standard work Zwingli and Luther has appeared in 1953 (ed. by E. Kohlmeyer and H. Bornkamm), and since Zwingli research on the basis of the new edition of

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Zwingli's works in the *Corpus reformatorum* in Switzerland has produced remarkable results, the encounter between Luther and Zwingli can no longer be regarded as a mere prelude to what used to be regarded as the real controversy between Calvin and his Lutheran opponents. On the contrary, these later controversies appear as tragic attempts to unmake a decision definitely made in 1529.

It has been stated that Luther went to Marburg with the result in his pocket. This is an impermissible simplification. Luther, it is true, had first refused the colloquy. His reason was that every possible argument had been brought forward already in the preceding literary controversy. In addition to that, he disliked the political aspect of the enterprise. In either respect he was right.

Philip of Hesse was a great politician. He was not so much interested in the truth. What he wanted was an alliance between all those estates that had signed in April 1529 the "Protestation" of Speyer and the "Protestant" cantons of Switzerland. "The Marburg Colloquy was largely a political action, born of the situation after the Diet of Speyer, which made an alliance of all Protestants imperative," as W. Koehler (Huldrych Zwingli, 1943, p. 199) puts it.

For Zwingli, too, it had this aspect. To save the Gospel, he had made his alliance in Switzerland over against the Papalist cantons and Ferdinand and had in June even started his war, which to his great disappointment at Kappel was terminated by a negotiated peace. He could not see how the cause of the Reformation in Europe could be saved except by an alliance of all anti-Habsburg powers, including the King of France, who persecuted the Protestants, and even the Sultan. At Marburg on the last days of September, before the Lutherans arrived, he had come to a full political agreement with Landgrave Philip. For the sake of such a political alliance he was prepared to tolerate Luther's doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, though he strongly disagreed with him. The colloquy should lead, if not to an agreement, to a syncretismus (the technical term for what we would call "union"), a formula of compromise or a statement that a disagreement on such a matter was not church-divisive. To Luther this was not acceptable, not only because to him a dogma of the church was at stake on which

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compromise was not permissible, but also because the idea that the Gospel could be defended by political means was contrary to the Word of God. In this connection he always quoted Isaiah 7 with its serious warnings against political confederations in the alleged interest of the church: "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."

What, then, was the theological issue at Marburg? To understand that, one must try to get rid of the old prejudices which still play a great role, not only in historical works whose authors have no understanding of theology but also in the accepted textbooks on church history. It was not Luther who started the controversy. For a long time he ignored the attacks from Zürich. However, the controversy had become unavoidable because it was a real contentio de fide. "Today it is generally acknowledged that it is not permissible to speak of obstinacy, of stubborn insistence on the letter of the Bible on the part of Luther. What to him was at stake was the root of our communion with God, which cannot be separated from the Lord's Supper and its gift. It must, on the other hand, be admitted that we owe also to Zwingli the recognition that his conviction was formed under an inner compulsion, and we should cease to reproach him with superficial rationalism" (W. Koehler, Zwingli und Luther, II, 133).

In point of fact, in these two men two different concepts of Christianity met. While Luther's faith in Christ was bound up with a strong sacramental realism, Zwingli was the representative of a spiritual concept of Christianity which was no longer able to understand the sacrament. As a reaction against certain doctrinal and devotional exaggerations of the Middle Ages this spiritualistic movement accompanies as an undercurrent the main stream of medieval theology and piety. It becomes visible first in the "dialectic," rationalistic doctrine of Berengar in the 11th century. In the era of late scholasticism it reappears in Wycliffe. It becomes manifest in some kinds of German mysticism, in aspects of the devotio moderna of the Lowlands, in the more radical forms of the Hussite movement, in the piety of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, in much Christian humanism, and in the various Spiritualist and Anabaptist movements at the time of the Reformation. There is always a radical wing (e.g., in the "Pickards" or "BegMa Ca the this Th

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hards" in the Lowlands and in Bohemia who rejected all sacraments) and a moderate one which retains the sacraments with a different understanding. Thus Zwingli persecuted the Anabaptists, although he was not able to defend infant Baptism.

It is this great movement whose representative Zwingli was at Marburg. Luther, on the other hand, became the defender of the Catholic dogma. It is a strange spectacle to see these two men and their companions at the great debate. One must never forget that this was not a discussion between churches, as later colloquies were. There was at that time, before the Augsburg Confession was written, neither a Lutheran nor a Reformed Church. The colloquists at Marburg considered themselves Catholic Christians, though excommunicated. But no one at that time doubted that the unity was only temporarily lost and would be restored by an ecumenical council which was generally demanded. The Marburg Colloquy was an event within the Catholic Church of the West.

Thus the doctrine which Zwingli defended was not "Reformed" in the later sense. It was, strictly speaking, not even Zwinglian. For Zwingli had taken it over from the Dutch humanist Hoen. Nor was the doctrine of Luther "Lutheran." It was simply the dogma of the entire church since the days of the apostles which Luther defended against Zwingli, just as Nicholas II and Gregory VII had defended it against Berengar. This sounds strange, but it is true. Luther has always praised Pope Nicholas for his most Christian action against the French Modernist. Here lies the deeper reason for Melanchthon's request that a few "decent papists" should participate, while there was agreement on both sides that no Anabaptist could be admitted. Against this historic background it is to be understood that Luther chalked on the table of Marburg the words containing the status controversiae as well as the dogma on which there could not be a compromise: Hoc est corpus meum.

VI

"This is My body." That the consecrated bread in the Lord's Supper is the body and the consecrated wine is the blood of Christ, this is the doctrine of Luther in which he agrees with the entire orthodox church throughout the ages. All thoughts and theories which he developed in connection with this fundamental dogma

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are only explanations of this doctrine, which he had to put forward as answers to questions asked by his opponents.

In the centuries before the Reformation there had always been people who doubted the Real Presence. There have always been theologians who wanted to know too much and, while trying to explain what defies all explanation, have suffered shipwreck in the faith. Even some of the church fathers, especially those who were influenced by Neoplatonism, have given false or insufficient answers which later were used by the deniers of the Real Presence. But the dogma of the church was not affected by that. It was and is binding on all Christians because it is the doctrine of the apostles and the explanation of the sacrament given by our Lord Himself at the institution. Either He meant what He said, or He has left to His church a puzzle which thus far nobody has been able to solve.

This dogma was contained and expressed in all liturgies, Eastern and Western. It had to be defined by the church only when it was attacked. This was the case in the East when the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787 had to refute the decision of a synod of 754 that the consecrated bread and wine are symbols, images of the body and blood of Christ. In the Western Church the dogma had to be defined against Berengar and his followers almost 300 years later. For the controversies of the Carolingian Age were theological discussions only. As the dogma was contained in the liturgy, it was taught in the catechetical instruction, either immediately before or, as, e. g., in the case of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, after Baptism and first Communion.

Since the Eucharist was celebrated behind closed doors, the dogma was not taught publicly. Only when the rumors about cannibalism had become too dangerous, St. Justin Martyr felt constrained to tell the public in his Apology what was going on in that service and to state, in a somewhat involved sentence, what "we have been taught," namely, that the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. He referred to the words of institution as recorded by the apostles in the gospels.² His statement of the doc-

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² Apol. I, 65 f. — There can be no doubt Θυέστεια δεῖπνα and Οἰδιπόδειαι μίξεις (Athenagoras, 3, 1) refer to the Eucharist, the latter reproach being a misinterpretation of the "holy kiss" (Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Peter 5:14), which preceded the Communion. The strict rule that men and women have their places on different sides so that "brothers" and

trine is confirmed by Irenaeus (Adv. haer., IV, 18, 5). Much confusion has later been caused by the fact that Augustine was never able to reach clarity in regard to the Sacrament of the Altar. His attempt to build up a theory of the sacraments in terms of Neoplatonism and to apply it to the Lord's Supper was most unfortunate.

The Reformed theologians could, indeed, refer to Augustine as their authority, as Berengar and Wycliffe had done. They could do so also with regard to another fateful heritage which the great father left to the Western Church: the idea that the body of Christ, since it is in heaven, cannot at the same time be here on earth. It is noteworthy that this argument is the basis not only of the Reformed doctrine but also of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Since Christ's body, as a true body, must be in heaven, it can be on

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[&]quot;sisters" could not exchange the liturgical kiss was not sufficient to suppress the rumor of incest. It is always connected with the reproach that a child is killed in the service and its flesh and blood are eaten and drunken, a misinterpretation of John 6:53. All apologists from Aristides to Origen had to reject these reproaches. They go back to the first century and are probably willful slander on the part of the Jews, whose burning hatred against the Christians who had apostasized from the synagog caused the persecutions. This hatred was especially strong in Asia (Acts 21:27). This explains how John speaks of the Jews in his Gospel and passages like Rev. 2:9; 3:9. Those terrific experiences in Asia still resound in the Eastern Church. When antisemitism spread in the West in the 13th century, the old slander of ritual murder and eating of children was turned back upon the Jews. We mention all this here because (1) it confirms indirectly the sacramental realism of the earliest church (it is worth noticing that throughout the 16th century the old word Thyestes was used in the polemics against the Lutheran realism. Cp. WA 54, 156: Uns hiessen sie Fleischfresser, Blutsäufer, Anthropophagos, Capernaiten, Thyestas, etc.) and because (2) it is important for the understanding of John 6. This chapter was originally understood as dealing with the mystery of the Eucharist. The way John relates a discourse of our Lord on the "bread from heaven," which in the first part is He Himself, in the later part His flesh, and the way this discourse is brought into connection with the miracles of the feeding of the 5,000 (multiplication of the bread, the reliquiae sacramenti, vv. 12 f.) and Jesus walking on the water (His body not necessarily obeying the laws of a natural body), furthermore the use of εὐχαριστεῖν (vv. 11, 23), the dispute with the Jews, and the offense which even "many of His disciples" took at the "hard saying," have always been suggestive of the Eucharist, until Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine introduced a different interpretation. How the early Christians understood such texts is shown by the earliest representation of the fractio panis in the Capella Graeca (2d century) of the catacomb of St. Priscilla in Rome. John could not include a narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper in his Gospel, which was written not only for Christian readers who had gone through a course of catechetical instruction (Luke 1:4) but obviously for a wider public. Instead he inserted that discourse which seems to indicate that Jesus had prepared His disciples for their first Holy Communion

the altar, and on so many altars simultaneously, not by a change of its place (per motum localem) but only by the conversion of the substance of the bread into the substance of the body (per conversionem substantiae panis in ipsum), as Thomas (Summa theol., III, qu. 75, art. 2) points out. Although Augustine was never able to solve the problem of the relation between the body in heaven and the body in the sacrament theologically, he kept his belief in the Real Presence as it was expressed in the liturgy. The formula of distribution in Africa was the same as in the Eastern churches: Corpus Christi, whereupon the communicant answered Amen. The cup was given with the words Sanguis Christi, which also was answered by Amen. This Amen was always understood as a confession: Yes, I believe that. Can one imagine a man like Augustine for so many years distributing the sacrament without firmly believing what he said and made his people confess? There is a lack of clarity, a gap between his faith and his theological thinking, as it is often to be found in the history of the church.

But it is impossible to claim Augustine with his neoplatonic mysticism for a rationalizing or merely spiritualistic understanding of the Lord's Supper. He emphasized, it is true, the spiritual manducation, e. g., in the famous *Crede et manducasti*. It must not be overlooked that this word is to be found in his exposition of John 6:27.

But in addition to this manducatio spiritualis he knows and emphasizes, especially in his later years, the sacramental eating to such a degree that he teaches—and this distinguishes him from the Reformed churches—a manducatio oralis, the manducatio impiorum, and even the necessity of this sacrament for salvation. The Jews who at Pentecost were converted were now eating the body which they had killed. Even Judas had received the body of Christ. The sacrament is necessary even for infants. Hence the early practice of giving the Holy Eucharist to the children after Baptism, as the Eastern Church still does. But even if Augustine's doctrine had not this other side, even if he were a mere symbolist like Origen, this would not alter the dogma of the church. This was the same in the liturgies Eastern and Western and had been proclaimed by the Second Council of Nicea for the East and in Ego Berengarius of 1079 (Denzinger, 355) for the medieval Latin Church.

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Luther, like others, had his misgivings concerning the later dogma of 1215. By introducing the idea of "transubstantiation" this dogma tried to give a theological and even a philosophical answer to the question bow the elements after consecration could be the body and blood of Christ. The simple declaration of 1079 was never rejected; even Wycliffe accepted it, though he did not quite understand it. It is this doctrine which is expressed in the medieval German hymn "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet," which Luther accepted and enlarged. It is the conviction that after consecration the bread is truly the body of our Lord that hung on the cross and is now on the right hand of the Father, the wine the true blood of Christ that was shed at Calvary. No mention was made any longer of the statement of 1059 that the body is crushed by the teeth, this being against the view (which meanwhile had been generally accepted) that this would be an overstatement, because the presence is not a local one in the sense that Christ's body can be divided when the host is divided. The entire body is present "in, with, and under" each particle of the host.

VII

It was this doctrine of the entire church of almost 1,500 years which Luther at Marburg defended against Zwingli and Oecolampadius. Over against their objection that Jesus could not have meant the Eucharistic words literally because God does not propose to us incomprehensible things (*Deus non proponit nobis incomprehensibilia*) he could simply answer that all great truths of God's revelation are incomprehensible, as the incarnation, the virgin birth, the bodily resurrection, etc.

Zwingli, of course, never doubted such doctrines. He even maintained the ecclesiastical tradition of Mary's perpetual virginity. He was not a rationalist but rather what later has been called a supranaturalist. He was a Biblicist. But his understanding of Scripture was, to a greater extent than he was able to realize, determined by his humanism and that amount of rationalism that is inherent in all humanists and that was bound to produce the rationalistic philosophy and theology of the later 17th and 18th centuries. "God is Light and leads into light" was his answer to Luther's "One must close one's eyes when God speaks," as Abraham hid himself in the darkness of faith when God commanded him

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to sacrifice his son, thus obviously making impossible the fulfillment of His own promise. Over against the old Augustinian argument (which plays such a great role with Zwingli and Calvin) that the body of Christ cannot be on earth, since it is in heaven, "it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one" (1662, Book of Common Prayer), Luther pointed out that he would not listen to mathematical arguments, for "God is beyond all mathematics" (we would today use the word physics). He was, however, prepared to enter this field, if that was desired, not to prove with "mathematical" arguments what no human reason can prove but rather to show that mathematics cannot disprove the Real Presence.

Perhaps the deepest motive of Zwingli's view is to be found in the objection based on John 6:63 ("The flesh profiteth nothing"): "Spirit eats spirit, it does not eat flesh." It is, in other words, the problem what should be the use of such eating even if it were possible. It was easy for Luther to show that John 6:63 could not mean that Christ's flesh profiteth nothing. Otherwise the entire doctrine of the incarnation would break down. The passage could only be a warning against the "Capernaitic" misunderstanding of the sacramental eating, as if Christ's body were eaten like ordinary food. But here the real issue became quite clear. When Oecolampadius asked Luther not to stick to the humanity of Christ, but rather to lift up his mind to His divinity in heaven - who is not reminded of Calvin's use of the sursum corda? - the reply was that he could not separate the divine and the human nature in Christ in such a way. How could space separate that which had become one in the hypostatic union? Besides, he knew of no other God but Him who has become flesh, and he wanted to have no other God.

Here the two ways of understanding Christianity met: on Luther's part the realistic understanding of the incarnation and of the sacrament as the continuation of the incarnation, on Zwingli's part the idealistic separation of body and soul, the visible and the invisible, the finite and the infinite, and, consequently, of the human and divine natures of Christ. Zwingli, of course, did not want to be, and was not, a Nestorian. He could still, in contrast with Calvin, speak of Mary as the mother of God, which has

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always been the test of orthodox Christology. And yet such language given by theological tradition, was actually, as he called it, $\partial \lambda \lambda \delta(\omega \sigma \iota \zeta)$, a mode of speech in which, when speaking of one nature of Christ, we use words which properly can be applied only to the other nature.

When reading Luther's criticism of this ἀλλοίωσις, one has the impression as if Luther anticipated the future development which was bound to lead to that modern Protestantism that can no longer understand that the Person of Christ is the eternal Son, who has accepted our human nature without ceasing to be true and real God. Such Protestantism can, of course, no longer understand and preserve the sacrament in Luther's sense. This modern Protestantism must see in Luther's doctrine a regrettable relapse into Romanism, though it should not be forgotten that the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation is more spiritual than we are inclined to believe. This is at least the opinion of Eastern Orthodox theologians, who maintain that after all Aquinas is perhaps not very far from Calvin, owing to their common Augustinian heritage. In some respects Luther is nearer to the Eastern Church, which has never formulated a dogma concerning the how of the Real Presence.

But Luther could never accept the understanding of the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice, which was to him the great corruption of the sacrament, far worse than transubstantiation. The medieval doctrine of transubstantiation he rejected as "a sophistic subtlety" meant to explain philosophically that which defies any explanation. Besides, "it is in perfect agreement with Holy Scripture that there is, and remains, bread, as Paul himself calls it, 1 Cor. 10:16: 'The bread which we break.' And 1 Cor. 11:28: 'Let him eat of the bread'" (Smalcald Articles, Part Three, VI, 5). Luther has no doctrine on the how of the Real Presence. Neither "consubstantiation" nor "impanation" is the doctrine of the Lutheran Church. These are medieval theories. If Luther in De captivitate Babylonica refers to Peter d'Ailly, he does so in order to show that even this distinguished cardinal had his doubts concerning transubstantiation and would prefer consubstantiation if that were possible. Nor does Luther teach an inclusio or any kind of "local" presence. Luther has never demanded from anyone the acceptance of his theory of omnipresence, which he had developed only to show

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that the philosophical, mathematical arguments of his opponents could be refuted. Even the medieval terms "in," "with," "under" are by no means characteristic of the Lutheran doctrine. Just as Luther in his Last Confession (1544-45), referring to Aquinas and the medieval church, rejected the idea of a "local" presence or inclusio, so Nicholas Selneccer, one of the authors of the Formula of Concord, in harmony with Luther's Last Confession, points out: "Though our churches use the old words 'In the bread, with the bread, under the bread the body of Christ is received,' they do not thereby teach an inclusio or consubstantiatio. . . . They rather intend to say not more than this, that Christ is veracious and that when giving us the bread in His Supper, He gives us simultaneously His body to eat, as He Himself says. Whether one says 'in the bread,' 'with the bread,' 'under the bread,' we do not care if only we keep the Lord's body in the Supper. That we would not allow anyone to take from us. . . ." (Vom Heiligen Abendmahl des Herrn. . . . Wiederholete kurze und letzte Bekenntnis und Testament D. Nicolai Selnecceri [Frankfurt-am-Main: 1591], fol. E 3)

It was this simple understanding of the Sacrament of the Altar which is contained in the last offer Luther made after the Marburg Colloquy had failed. The Marburg Colloquy was bound to fail because Zwingli could not accept the Real Presence, and Luther could not accept a compromise which left the question open.

But would Zwingli not perhaps be prepared to accept the Real Presence if formulated in such a way that no Capernaitic misunderstanding was possible? The formula suggested by Luther and his colleagues was: "We confess that by virtue of the words 'This is My body, this is My blood' body and blood of Christ are truly — hoc est: substantive et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel qualitative vel localiter — present and distributed in the Lord's Supper." Substantive et essentialiter means the true body and blood in the sense of the old hymn "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet": "Herr, durch deinen heiligen Leichnam / Der von deiner Mutter Maria kam / Und das heilige Blut . . ." (see Ego Berengarius, Denzinger 355). Body and blood are present not quantitatively or qualitatively. This means that Christ's body in the sacrament has not the extension, weight, and the other properties of a natural, earthly body. Luther and the Lutheran fathers (e. g., Johann

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Gerhard, Loci XXI, cap. 26; ed. Preuss V, 252) could refer to Aquinas' Adoro devote with the words: "Visus, tactus, gustus / In te fallitur / Sed audito solo in te creditur / Credo quidquid dixit / Dei filius / Verbo veritatis nihil verius." The body of Christ is present in the usus — which is not identical with sumptio.³ It is there where the bread is. But this ibi eucharisticum is not a local ibi. The connection between the elements on the one hand and the body and blood on the other is rather the true unio sacramentalis. And this presence is effected through the words of Christ which, once spoken at the institution, are effective at all times when spoken by the minister of the sacrament ex persona Christi.⁴

All this is contained in the Lutheran formula which was the last possible offer Luther could make. It was not accepted by Zwingli. Köhler has shown why he could not accept this offer. Even in this form the doctrine of the Real Presence was unacceptable to him. He could not return to Zürich with a formula that contradicted everything he had taught in the previous years, espe-

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³ Neither Luther nor the Lutheran Confessions have identified usus with sumptio. When explaining the rule, "Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum" or "extra actionem divinitus institutam," the Formula of Concord (SD VII 85 ff.) gives the definition: "The use or action here does not mean chiefly faith, neither the oral participation only, but the entire external, visible action of the Lord's Supper instituted by Christ, the consecration or words of institution, the distribution and reception (Latin text: consecratio seu verba institutionis, distributio et sumptio), or oral partaking. . . ." This is important for the problems of the "moment of consecration" and the "duration" of the Real Presence. They cannot be defined. All attempts to give an exact definition are bound to fail because nothing has been revealed to us concerning these questions. This must be said also of the view of later orthodox theologians who limited the Real Presence to the moment of the sumptio. This is not the view of the Lutheran Confessions. The Formula of Concord, in harmony with Luther and the entire Western Church, teaches that the words of consecration are the words of institution. The view of some schoolmen that the consecration at the institution was effected by the eucharist Christ spoke before the words of institution should not be accepted by Lutherans. Therefore the introduction of an ἐπίκλησις of the Holy Spirit upon the elements should be avoided in a Lutheran liturgy. The alternative form of consecration in the new Service Book of the Lutheran Church in America is a strange mixture of Western (benedictione coelesti et gratia repleamur) and Eastern elements (ἐπίκλησις of the Logos and of the Holy Spirit).

⁴ Here lies the reason why the denial of the Real Presence on the part of the officiating minister is, according to Luther, a destruction of the institution of Christ. He speaks not ex persona Christi who does not mean what Christ meant by His words. If these words could be used without this meaning, they would be a sort of magic formula. Nor do the words effect the presence but Christ, who speaks them through His minister.

cially since the words "by virtue of the words of Christ" could be understood only in the sense of a consecration. The words of institution were addressed in the liturgy of Zürich, as in all Reformed liturgies, to the people, as a proclamation of the Gospel. "Consecration" in the Reformed liturgies and confessions means "setting apart for a sacred use by prayer." The "consecration," even where the word is retained, does not effect the Real Presence. One must keep this in mind in order to do justice to Zwingli. He could not accept this offer.

VIII

It is in this last offer made by Luther and in its rejection by Zwingli that the real result of the Marburg Colloquy is to be found, and not in the Marburg Articles, which used to be regarded as the real outcome, a promise for a future understanding which, though not reached in the 16th century, should be possible today. The 15 (not 14, as in older printings) articles which Luther drafted at the request of the Landgrave (on the basis of the articles that the Lutheran theologians formulated in summer 1529 and that the Lutheran estates formally adopted after the Marburg Colloquy at Schwabach) show how far Luther could go in the interest of the true union that he was still hoping for despite the failure of the colloquy.

At the same time they are a testimony to the political cleverness of Philip of Hesse. Only a great politician was able to interpret an obvious failure as a seeming success. He wanted a result, a statement of agreement, even if only of a partial agreement. The colloquy was originally planned for a week. The negotiations began on Friday, October 1; the formal discussions were held on Saturday and Sunday. The colloquy broke down on Sunday afternoon. In the evening the Lutheran proposal was made and discussed. The reason for the hurry in which everything had to be done was the appearance of an epidemic, the *sudor Anglicus*, at Marburg. The Landgrave wanted his guests to depart safely as soon as possible, as he himself wanted to leave Marburg. He was the first to depart on Tuesday morning.

Thus the articles were formulated and discussed on Monday. It is not surprising that they proved to be insufficient, since no full and proper consideration could be given to them in so short

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a time. Otherwise it would have become apparent at Marburg already what became obvious when Zwingli published them with his notae (WA 30, III, 160 ff.), that important passages were understood differently by either side. Article XI, to take an example, deals with "confession or seeking of counsel and consolation from one's pastor or neighbor," and speaks of the comfort "of the absolution or consolation of the Gospel, which is the true absolution." Luther understood this in the way of real confession and real absolution, while Zwingli thought of the fraternal seeking of counsel and consolation and not of an absolution in the sense of the proclamation of divine forgiveness through a human mouth.

The masterpiece of diplomacy was Article 15, probably formulated by Philip himself. This deals with the Lord's Supper and states that there is agreement in five points, which indeed were recognized by either side. Two of them could even be accepted by the pope ("that the Sacrament of the Altar is the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ"—it all depends on what one understands by the word "sacrament," whether a mere sign of grace or a means of grace—and that the spiritual manducation is necessary for every Christian).

Among all these real or alleged agreements there disappears almost the one point of disagreement, namely, that "at present we are not agreed whether the true body and blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine," but both parties should "earnestly implore Almighty God to confirm us by His Spirit in the sound doctrine." Agreement in 14 out of 15 articles, agreement in five out of six points of the 15th Article, Zwingli almost a 99 per cent Lutheran — what a marvelous achievement! Already at Marburg it had become quite clear what the controversies and negotiations of the subsequent 400 years have time and again confirmed and what Luther had seen from the beginning: There is no middle road between est and significat, between is and is not, between yes and no.

It is the tragedy of Protestantism that this was not realized. All attempts to find such a middle road were and still are bound to fail. One must have high respects for Calvin's endeavor to solve the problem how a real reception of the true body and blood of Christ, which are in heaven, can be reconciled with the view that

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what we orally receive is only bread and wine. From Bucer he had learned to teach a reception of the body and blood by faith. But the New Testament as well as the church of all ages teach that we receive Christ's body and blood orally and that they are received by all communicants. Even Augustine had taught the manducatio oralis and the manducatio impiorum.

Calvin attempted to solve the problem of bridging the distance between heaven and earth, between Christ's body in heaven and the believer on earth, by his interpretation of the *sursum corda* and by the idea of the Holy Spirit as the *transporteur* who brings Christ's body to us. But this attempt has no Biblical foundation. He was unable to reconcile the *est* and the *significat*. The same is true of all later attempts, also of many formulas suggested today.

What can we do in this really tragic situation? What can and must the Lutheran contribution toward the present Eucharistic discussions be? It cannot be a continuation of the fruitless attempts to reach a compromise or to take up and improve the 15th Article of Marburg. What we can and ought to do is rather to renew the offer which Luther made on the evening of October 3, 1529. Zwingli could not accept it. But the time has come when there has to be asked again the question whether this is not the only possible solution and whether it is not acceptable to many Protestant churches also outside the orbit of Lutheranism: "We confess that by virtue of the words 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' body and blood of Christ are truly - boc est: substantive et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel qualitative vel localiterpresent and distributed in the Lord's Supper." This is not a specifically Lutheran doctrine, not the doctrine of one of the many Christian denominations. It has been the doctrine of the entire Christian Church for 1,500 years and is still the doctrine of the vast majority of Christendom today. It is, as we are convinced, the doctrine of the apostles and of our Lord Himself. It is in its simplest form stated in the answer to the question, "What is the Sacrament of the Altar?" and in the Lutheran formula of distribution. In this sense we enter the discussion of the Lord's Supper, writing, with Luther, on the table the status controversiae: Hoc est corpus meum.

Adelaide, South Australia

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Outlines on the Nitsch Epistles

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ROMANS 5:1-11

Special Accent or Purpose. — This text is a combination of appreciation for God's tremendous love in the sacrifice of His Son and a statement of how we (ought to) live because we are reconciled to God. This is a fitting text to help the church in her transition from the Christmas-Epiphany to the Passion-Easter season. It traces the need for a Savior in its "while we were" expressions emphasizes God's determination to do something about it and the plan He carried out. The purpose is appreciation and gratitude for God's action and a corresponding expression of joy over our new status because of it. The theme might be: Rejoice in the fact that God has rescued you from an "impossible state of affairs" and has given you the power to glimpse His glory in all things, even tribulation.

"A Changeless Christ for a Changing World." True, God is changeless. He, nevertheless, is a changing God in the active sense of the verb. He changes things. He brings life out of death, peace out of war, joy out of sorrow, love out of hate, good out of evil. While the world is changing in many ways, without God it would be changeless in the only way that really counts. Without God we would remain unchanged in our spirit and life. We would be altogether the old Adam. There would be no new man. But with God changing us by the power of His love, we live a life which would be impossible without Him. We are helped by knowing that our God holds in His authority the power to change.

"A Changing God for a Changeless World"

I. Before becoming Christians, we were in need of change and could do nothing about it ourselves

A. Because we were helpless to do so (v.6). Change depends on power. In natural state we have no spiritual power. Even our righteousness is as filthy rags. Gospel: helpless to understand the Word of God by themselves. (Luke 8:10)

B. Because we were godless or ungodly (v.6). Not only helpless but worse, without God. Man's choice was to live without God, apart from Him, separated from Him, the state of death. Concupiscence is the history of man's rejection of all that is godly, good, righteous, etc.

C. Because we were sinners (v.8). Not only without God but transgressors of His laws, full of sin and wickedness. All kinds of sin —

original (last half of this chapter is a commentary), actual, both omission and commission. Against God and against fellow men. Sin offends God, drives Him away.

D. Because we were enemies of God (v. 10). Not only transgressors of laws but against the Lawmaker, and He against us. From our point of view, this meant resentment, rebellion, hatred of God. From God's point of view, it meant smashing judgment of death.

II. God has responded to our need and not only has created the possibility of a change for us but has produced it in us

A. God has provided a means of reconciliation (v.11) and established peace (v.1). "At the right time" (v.6) the Prince of Peace was born. Peace between God and man. Enemies are to be reconciled by the Mediator. How? By His blood and resurrection (v.10). This is the bridge from Christmas to Easter. The action of God in the interest of men.

B. By the Holy Spirit, God has communicated the love He has for us (v.5). The action of Christ is transmitted to us by the Holy Spirit. God takes the initiative again, as in creation and redemption. Even as we were helpless to reconcile, apathetic toward it, yes, hostile against it, so we could not discover the reconciliation accomplished by God. Spirit makes this known to us through the Word. Today's Gospel.

C. The Spirit's work engenders faith in Christ, who alone is our Access to God (vv. 1, 2). Jesus Christ is our Door (John 10), and we come to the Father only through Him, the Way, Truth, and Life (John 14:6). As we were helpless, enemies, sinners, etc., through Adam, so now we become powerful, lovers of God, holy, etc., through Christ. (Romans 5:12 ff.)

III. Our lives are changed as a result of God's love and work

A. We now rejoice in God (v.11) and in our hope of sharing His glory (v.2). In our helpless, sinful, hostile state, we could share only the shame of death and "live" in fear of God. We were powerless to change. Now, because of God's love, we *rejoice* in God and become sharers in His glory. His glory is His power, holiness, love, joy, everlasting life. We are no longer helpless, but can do all things through Christ; no longer godless, but Christ dwells in us; no longer sinners, but washed clean in the blood of the Lamb; no longer enemies of God, but lovers of God.

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B. We rejoice in whatever God sends us to alter our lives, for He changes only for good (vv. 3-5). Those who share the glory of God also share the glory of His sufferings. Today's Epistle. These do not discourage us, but they are a cause for rejoicing, because sorrow produces Christian virtues which never let us down.

From the day of our birth we stand in need of change, but we are powerless, apathetic, actually hostile toward the One who can produce it. In spite of our hostility, God manifests His love to us by working out our salvation and imparting it to us. As God changes us and grants us the gifts of joy, peace, power, we will express them in our lives to His glory and our own great rejoicing.

Wheat Ridge, Colo.

EDWARD MAY

QUINQUAGESIMA

JAMES 3:13-18

"Who is wise and understanding among you?" We'd probably have plenty of volunteers. "I am," many would answer. Perhaps not highly educated, but I have practical business sense; if not that, then adept at handling people; if not that, then genius at homemaking and child training; perhaps not that, then truly pious, etc. James' readers thought themselves wise. Many trying to be teachers to the rest. We all do that occasionally in conversation. But true wisdom is Christ Himself. Having Him by faith, we have Wisdom; and when He rules our lives, we live by Wisdom, show a life of meekness like His own life.

I. True wisdom is Christ Himself, and we can be wise only by faith in Him

A. Jesus Christ is the Wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:24; Col. 2:3). How can a person be wisdom? Here's how: God planned in His wisdom a course of action to remedy our sin. His plan materializes and becomes concrete from 4 B.C. to A.D. 29—30 as Christ enters flesh, lives under sting and bite of our sin, dies on the cross the death we deserved, rises to proclaim that He has fulfilled God's wise plan. Made God's wisdom concrete by taking it out of planning stage into action. Hence He is God's Wisdom made concrete, Fulfiller of God's wise thoughts.

B. By faith in Jesus Christ we can have wisdom. James 1:5,6: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask in faith." Definition: Faith means holding onto Jesus Christ. Christ is Wisdom of God. Hence true faith is having hold on God's own Wisdom. Through hold of faith on Him God's forgiveness and peace are yours through Him.

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II. Wisdom will show itself in our living

A. Wisdom is Christ living in you. Text: "wisdom from above." Definition: Not encyclopedic knowledge; not philosophical frame of mind; not being able to beat everyone else in arguments. Wisdom in Bible is ability to make right decisions in living. It is an automatic pilot keeping plane of life on course. Can do this because Wisdom is Christ dwelling in you, teaching you what to do in complex and difficult situations life presents. Illustration: Children, this is like having your schoolteacher with you all the time you're doing your homework. Wonderful!

B. Wisdom will show itself in a life of meekness (vv. 13b, 17). Wisdom will always show in behavior. This will be the kind of behavior you'd expect of Christ, since Wisdom is Christ in you. "I am meek and lowly of heart" (Matt. 11:29). Hence you will be meek, living at peace with others. Today's Epistle (1 Cor. 13). Peace (definition) not just cessation of hostilities. Has come to mean that today when we're relieved with just negative peace among nations. But in N. T. peace is a bond between people making them one through Christ. Life of God best cultivated with others. Peace is bond which ties together with others. Wisdom within will help you to behave in love toward others so as to cultivate that bond of peace. Harvest of righteous behavior. (Text, v. 18)

III. Bitter jealousy, ambition, and boasting are the opposite of behavior based on Wisdom; they originate with devils

A. Jealousy, ambition, and boasting are opposites to wisdom, and they are false to the truth (v.14). Truth means that God's plan of redemption in Christ is carried out in human lives. When you cut other lives off from Christ by your jealousy, ambition, boasting, you prevent His plan from coming true in them through your witness. Hence you are false to the truth.

B. Such impulses produce a harvest of disorder and every vile practice (v. 16). This behavior breaks up the bond of peace between people. Others become tools for your own ends. You throw tools aside after use. When this happens in a workshop, it is soon disorderly, can't find anything, can't do work properly. Jealousy, ambition, and boasting, since they use others as tools and throw them aside, can hurt the workshop of the church of Christ.

C. Such impulses originate with devils, are earthly, and unspiritual. When you stop listening to the voice of Wisdom, i. e., Christ, you will listen to the voice of the devil (v.15). Devil's objective: to keep

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God's plan from materializing wherever he can, i.e., to prevent the truth. Hence he is a liar and the father of lies. He works to get us to manifest jealousy, ambition, boasting, in order to wreck the peace bond we have with others and keep God's plan from coming true in others through us and in us through them.

Wisdom can be ours today as Christ by faith moves into our lives, helps us to heed His counsel, to live out His meekness at peace with those around us. Result: God's plan will be realized in us and around us and through us. Want Wisdom, for to want Wisdom is to want Christ Himself.

Pleasant Hill, Calif.

WILLIAM BACKUS

INVOCAVIT

GALATIANS 5:13-18

Today first Sunday in Lent—in but not of Lent, in spite of the fact, that violet paraments color the chancel. Like saying: "Christians are in, but not of, the world." They are still colored by their environment. On Sundays in Lent we are never far from Gethsemane, Via Dolorosa, or Calvary. Every Sunday is shadowed by the cross of Christ. The very freedom we speak about this morning is characterized by the cross—by which it was won and which it bears.

Christian freedom is utterly different from all that men call freedom. Our sinful nature makes us wish to be "free from God" — that delusion which makes men say that when they can do as they wish, when they are free from all external authority, when they have tamed conscience, then they are free. In reality they are enslaved to passion, lust, anxiety, sin, death, hell. That freedom is always self-assertive, shadowed by self, and completely unsatisfactory when at last the appetites are jaded.

Christian freedom also differs from political freedom — though both kinds are "bought with a price," both are gifts, both carry responsibility. The minutemen, doughboys, and bomber crews did not die for the kingdom of God, and Jesus Christ did not die to preserve the "American way of life." Political freedom frees man from the coercion of the state. But even in free societies there are jails and mental institutions, which seem to suggest that a free state cannot really free a man, least of all from himself. It can only give him the opportunity to find freedom. But freedom is not something you find or achieve. It is a release, a new birth, a gift, a calling. Our human destiny of freedom, frustrated and forfeited by sin, is restored to us by Jesus Christ, who became a servant, one of us, a life-span human, to live as a man among us and to die to set us free from death, caused by sin. For the Christian

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freedom is always realized in community, the community of church and neighborhood. It is a freedom in service (bondage, slavery) to God and man. Both St. Paul and St. Peter make it clear that the Christian slave is a truly free man, while his pagan master is in utter bondage. Thus Christian freedom is unconditional and not environmental.

Called for Freedom

I. You were called for the purpose of freedom

A. Man wishes to be free—from God. God wishes man to be free—in Him. God calls man from bondage to freedom, from darkness to light, from death to life. Freedom is not absence of constraint but a way of life. Would you say that Jesus was free? In every way? He has freed us from trying to achieve freedom, from our slavery to self, from defiance, from paralyzing fears. Your calling is to follow Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. You are not free until you freely wish to please God, until you freely follow Christ, until you freely love your neighbor as yourself. And only God can set you free to live in this kind of freedom. Such God-motivated people do not need the coercion of an external law. This is the good news of redemption, the meaning of Christ's death on the cross and of His Resurrection—your freedom as children of God. "If the Son sets you free, you are free indeed" (John 8:36). Review Jesus' discussion of this freedom.

B. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh (v. 13). The flesh (σάρξ) is not the body (σῶμα). Your σῶμα is the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6:19), your σάοξ is not. Flesh (σάοξ) in the New Testament includes our body, mind, emotions, spirit (our "higher" nature, as well as our "lower" nature). When our whole being centers in self, not to satisfy the needs of the body but the evil desires of the self - this is "the lust of the flesh." The flesh uses sex to satisfy lust, possessions to satisfy acquisitiveness, publicity to advertise self. But the fleshly abuse does not make our bodies or sexual nature bad, so that we must try to get away from our bodies to pure spirit in a Platonic way. Christian marriage is no Platonic affair; it is a "holy estate." Furthermore, the "cult or rite" peculiar to Christianity is to present our bodies as "living sacrifices" (Rom. 12:1, where St. Paul excommunicates Plato from Christian theology). This means that we serve God with our bodies, not just our minds — by visiting the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the destitute, showing hospitality to strangers, sitting in church, doing manual labor. What St. Paul here means is that a Christian is not free to flaunt

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authority, to tyrannize subordinates, to "get even," to chisel and cheat, to gossip, or to covet. He is freed only to do the will of God from the heart which God demands by right and Law. He is not free for himself but for his neighbor.

C. Through love be servants of one another. Luther's famous dictum: "A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." Luther says further: "A Christian man lives not in himself but in Christ and his neighbor. Otherwise he is not a Christian. He lives in Christ through faith, and in his neighbor through love."

- 1. For the whole Law is fulfilled in one word: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (v. 14).
- 2. But if you bite and devour one another (v. 15), watch out that you do not wind up in the cannibal's pot. Paul was no stranger to the "survival of the fittest," the "law of the jungle," or "dog eat dog" manifestations in society. Robertson cites the old tale of two snakes that grabbed each other by the tail, and each ate the other. By whose law do you live in society: the Law of God or the law of the jungle?

II. Walk by the Spirit, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh

A. The Holy Spirit calls us by the Gospel, dwells in us, enlightens us, guides us, motivates us — all in accordance with God's Word. Seek to please God in your behavior.

B. Do not live for the purpose of gratifying desires and lust of the flesh (v.16).

- 1. The desires (ἐπιθυμεῖ-lusts) of the flesh are against the spirit (v. 17). Check yourself on your real desires, the things you really want from life—are they fleshly, worldly, or spiritual? Again, not a Platonic differentiation, as if matter were evil, spirit good. But are you a "Christian materialist"? (St. Paul: "All things are yours"—"eat, drink, live, to glory of God.") People building a career, a house, an inventory, a clientele—have little time for church, God, Bible, prayer? Things conspire to take our allegiance away from God and spend them on things and self. (For a more complete statement of the conflict between flesh and spirit see Romans 8.
- The spirit is (ἐπιθυμεῖ is lacking in Greek text) against the flesh (v.17). Not against the body—as the ascetics falsely suppose. Body must be kept in subjection (1 Cor. 9:27) as an

athlete keeps in condition, not because the body is bad but because the self is lazy and indulgent.

- These (flesh and spirit) are opposed to one another (v. 17) and cause the conflict which besets us.
- 4. In this inner conflict (v. 17) "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." Thus there is no freedom until we are freed from this conflict of desires, which is the seed bed of our anxiety. There is no such conflict for the godless person who loves sin with all his heart and soul and strength and mind and nobody like himself. This conflict comes alive and is sharpened, causing almost excruciating pain, to one who really wishes to do God's will and finds himself dragged back by his own flesh. Christ has freed us from the guilt, anxiety, and power of this conflict. The Holy Spirit "strengthens us in the inner man" and motivates us with God's love to serve God, whose will is our pleasure and in whose service there is perfect freedom.
- 5. Therefore, if you are led by the spirit, you are not under the law (v.18). You do not need the Law for coercion, only for guidance. For you now wish to do God's will on earth as angels do in heaven. The Law has been your schoolmaster. It has brought you to Christ. And He has set you free for freedom.

Is that the way it is with you? You know that it isn't. For sin hangs on, our old sinful nature reasserts itself, sin still allures, Satan still tempts. You are simul instus et peccator. Would you then continue to be free—really free? Then keep on confessing your bondage to the flesh, asking God for deliverance, accepting the freedom God gives you in Christ. You will then also keep on praying for the guidance of the Holy Spirit and setting your mind to do those things which please God, and you will help your neighbor. Remember the cross of Christ, by which you are set free, and carry the cross He gives you, your badge of freedom—in loyalty to God, in service to man, in fulfillment of self, in growth of spirit, in the community of the church.

Oberlin, Ohio

WAYNE SAFFEN

REMINISCERE

1 John 2:12-17

Lent is a time during which we like to appeal for a deeper level of sanctification on the part of Christians. The danger is always present that in so doing we shall fall into unevangelical modes of thought. Sermons having as their goal the call to holier living and greater consecration sometimes fail to derive that call from God's deed in Christ. Happily the text for this Sunday helps us HON

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to avoid such a mistake. The evangelical approach to sanctification is beautifully sustained. The text is in good agreement with the thought of the standard Epistle for the day.

"Carrying water on both shoulders" is a proverbial saying which illustrates contempt for compromise. When the demands upon us are in the moral and spiritual realm, "carrying water on both shoulders" is even more disdained. The Bible continually reminds us that our life as Christians must be consistent. Today we have an opportunity to examine ourselves again in this regard as we pursue our Lenten goal of achieving a deeper and more consecrated spiritual life.

Consistent Christianity

I. Christians should not love the world but God

A. Christians will not love the world (v. 15). Review briefly the theological conception of the term "world" as St. John uses it here. (Cf. Arndt-Gingrich, s. v., 7)

B. The world according to our text manifests itself vividly in two ways: sexual deviation and materialism (v.16). Our times reflect this same condition in a crassly obvious way.

C. The world is transitory and fleeting and faces impending destruction (v.17). God's judgment upon such evil is certain.

D. The Christian is a man who turns away from the artificial attraction of the world and loves his God. V. 15b: "love for the Father." This is the shape of the Christian's religion, its inner core and content.

II. Sometimes Christians do love the world

A. The Christian, being yet in the flesh and not made perfect, sometimes succumbs to the blandishments of the world. The younger element is attracted by the lust of the flesh and eyes and the older element by the pride of life. (Vv. 13 and 14 compared with v. 16)

B. When the Christian is overtaken by such temptation, he sins; for love for the world and love for the Father are antithetical. (V. 15)

C. Each individual must examine himself today to see whether this has happened. Older and younger members alike must review their lives.

III. St. John reminds us who we are to foster more consistent Christianity

A. The congregation is addressed as "little children" (vv. 12, 13). Our status is that of forgiven children of God for Jesus sake (v. 12), who know the Father (v. 13). (The preacher will dwell lovingly

on that act by which God procured our forgiveness in Jesus Christ so that we could "know" Him and be His children.)

B. Such a status will mean that we act consistently with the gift that has been given to us. Observe the forceful terms the apostle employs to describe the new life of the congregation. (Vv. 13, 14)

C. Such consistent Christianity is destined for great blessing. (V. 17)

Remember who you are! Here the apostle reminds you of your status—redeemed, restored, forgiven. As God's beloved children certainly you will flee the world and remain with Him whom to know means everlasting life. (Lutheran Hymnal, 430, 605)

Yonkers, N.Y.

RICHARD E. KOENIG

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BRIEF STUDIES

PREACHING DOCTRINE ON THE BASIS OF THE STANDARD GOSPELS

[NOTE: This list, to which the writer made some additions, is taken from , Homiletic Magazine, XV (1891), 379 ff.]

First Sunday in Advent - Christ's Kingly Office

Second Sunday in Advent - The Last Judgment

Third Sunday in Advent - The Word of God

Fourth Sunday in Advent - Repentance (Baptism)

Christmas Eve — The Babe of Bethlehem

Christmas — The Birth of Christ

Second Christmas Day - The Confession of Christ

Sunday After Christmas — The Humanity of Christ (Communication of Attributes)

New Year's Eve - Free Text: The Proximity of the End

New Year - Christ's High Priestly Office

Sunday After New Year - Divine Rule of World (Angels)

Epiphany — Missions

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First Sunday After Epiphany - The Bringing Up of Children

Second Sunday After Epiphany - Marriage

Third Sunday After Epiphany - Faith

Fourth Sunday After Epiphany — Communication of Attributes (Christ's Kingdom of Power)

Fifth Sunday After Epiphany - The Visible Church

Sixth Sunday After Epiphany — The Transfiguration (observed annually)

Septuagesima - Good Works (Election of Grace)

Sexagesima - The Third Commandment

Quinquagesima - The State of Humiliation

Invocavit - Scripture as Source and Norm

Reminiscere - Tentatio

Oculi - The Devil

Laetare — The Ninth Commandment (Covetousness)

Judica - Natural Corruption (by Example of Jews)

Palmarum — Baptism (Confirmation)

Maundy Thursday - Holy Communion

Good Friday - Christ's Suffering and Death

Easter Sunday - Christ's Resurrection (His Deity)

Easter Monday - Use and Interpretation of Scripture

Quasimodogeniti — Unbelief

Misericordias Domini - Christ's Ministry

Jubilate — The Cross

Cantate - The Office of the Holy Ghost

Rogate - Prayer

Ascension - Christ's Ascension and Sitting on the Right Hand of God

Exaudi — The Holy Ministry

Pentecost Sunday — The Invisible Church

Pentecost Monday - The Gospel

Trinity Sunday - Regeneration. Free Text: The Holy Trinity

First Sunday After Trinity — Heaven and Hell

Second Sunday After Trinity - Called to Faith

Third Sunday After Trinity - Repentance (God's Gracious Will)

Fourth Sunday After Trinity — The Eighth Commandment (the Ban)

Fifth Sunday After Trinity - The Seventh Commandment (Labor)

Sixth Sunday After Trinity - The Fifth Commandment

Seventh Sunday After Trinity - The Preservation of the World

Eighth Sunday After Trinity — False Doctrine and Hypocrisy

Ninth Sunday After Trinity — Charity (Enjoinder of Seventh Commandment)

Tenth Sunday After Trinity - The Wrath of God

Eleventh Sunday After Trinity — Justification (Repentance; Forgiveness)

Twelfth Sunday After Trinity - The Deity of Christ

Thirteenth Sunday After Trinity - Love for the Neighbor

Fourteenth Sunday After Trinity — Apostasy

Fifteenth Sunday After Trinity - The First Commandment

St. Michael's Day (September 29) — The Good Angels (See Sunday After New Year)

Sixteenth Sunday After Trinity - The Resurrection of the Body

Seventeenth Sunday After Trinity - The Ceremonial Law

Eighteenth Sunday After Trinity — Law and Gospel (Their Relation to Each Other)

Nineteenth Sunday After Trinity - Absolution

Twentieth Sunday After Trinity - The Election of Grace

Reformation (October 31) — Free Text: The Restoration of the Gospel

Twenty-first Sunday After Trinity — Faith (in View of Sins of Weakness)

Twenty-second Sunday After Trinity — Reconcilability

Twenty-third Sunday After Trinity - Church and State

Twenty-fourth Sunday After Trinity — The Last Things (Readiness for Them)

Twenty-fifth Sunday After Trinity - Recognizing the Last Times

Twenty-sixth Sunday After Trinity - The Basis and Norm of Judgment

Twenty-seventh Sunday After Trinity — Faithful Perseverance

Detroit, Mich. G. M. KRACH

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Dr. H. H. Schmidt, librarian of Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., under this heading, has published in *Religion in Life* (Autumn 1958) a choice bibliography of works by Lutheran authors in our country. His contribution is the sixth in that quarterly of articles on bibliography of the various Protestant denominations in America. The author admits that "not every item of value in Americo-Lutheran literature has been included. . . . Many other excellent works exist which have not been mentioned (such as works in the German and Scandinavian tongues), and a more comprehensive synthesis would be incomplete without them." While we appreciate the writer's difficulty in presenting the bibliography "in compressed form," we nevertheless regret that Dr. Francis Pieper's *Christian Dogmatics* (3 vols.) in its English translation has been omitted.

Among the items mentioned the following may be of more than usual interest to our readers: "Both 'extensive' and 'comprehensive' describe the resources to be had on the history and doctrine of the Lutheran Church in the two collections on the campus of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis - the Pritzlaff Memorial Library and the Library of the Concordia Historical Institute. The latter is the official depository for the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, and has underway a wellplanned microtext program to extend its coverage of American Lutheran documents and source materials well beyond the Missourian nucleus. Concordia Seminary campus will also become the location for the library which is to house the materials collected by the recently incorporated Foundation for Reformation Research. Headed by a board of leading scholars, the Foundation will concern itself with collecting and collating originals or microreproductions of all important sources, primary and secondary, dealing with the Reformation and the Counter Reformation as well as related areas of history. The library and research center is to be a central clearinghouse and catalog of sources available in this country." JOHN THEODORE MUELLER

MELANCHTHON'S "THEOLOGIA GERMANA"

Under this heading Kerygma und Dogma (January 1958) offers valuable notes on Melanchthon's revision of his Loci theologici or, as they are also known, Loci communes, which the Preceptor of Germany elaborated in 1553. The original copy of the revision in Melanchthon's own handwriting had long been lost, but fortunately it was recovered.

In 1660 the copy was donated to Elias Hutter of Nürnberg, who asked his heirs never to sell this most precious volume. But sold it was and so lost to the world for half a century. Then, quite by accident, it was purchased by the noted collector of rare books, Ferdinand Hoffmann of Grünbüchel, Austria. In 1679 the volume became the property of the Austrian Jesuit College at Brünn. When a century later the order of the Jesuits was suppressed, the Theologia Germana was donated to the library of the University of Olmütz, where in the course of time it was discovered by the librarian Alois Mueller, who first regarded it as a mere German version of the Loci, but was amazed when he learned that he had found the lost copy of Melanchthon's famous revision of 1553 in his own handwriting. The discovery was made and substantiated by Dr. H. E. Bindseil of Halle, Germany, one of the editors of the Corpus Reformatorum. Melanchthon's revision had been published both in Wittenberg and in Nürnberg, and this perhaps explains how it came into the hands of Elias Hutter. The first German translation of the Loci was prepared by Spalatin in 1521. Later, in 1536, Justus Jonas did the work into German. Reprints of this translation appeared repeatedly between 1542 and 1550, though the version was never thoroughly revised, so that it agrees neither with the modern revised Latin editions nor with Melanchthon's own revision of 1553. In revising his work Melanchthon bound himself neither to any Latin nor to any German edition of the Loci. The revision of 1553, then, is Melanchthon's own literary production.

JOHN THEODORE MUELLER

AUTOGRAPH BEZA NEW TESTAMENT

Concordia Seminary Library was fortunate to obtain from Menno Hertzberger, antiquarian bookseller of Amsterdam, the copy of the 1565 Greek Testament which Theodore Beza (1519—1605) presented to the Zurich Reformer, Heinrich Bullinger (1504—75). This is the first edition of Beza's Greek text. He subsequently published three more editions in folio (1582, 1588, and 1598) and five in octavo (1565, 1567, 1580, 1591, and 1604). The 1565 folio edition also contained his Latin rendering of the text, revised from its first appearance in a Stephanus New Testament, the Vulgate, and Beza's annotations to the text.

The text of the Latin autograph dedication reads as follows:

Eximio Christi servo, D. Heinrico Bullingero patri mihi plurimum observando, Theodorus Beza, meae perpetuae observantiae pignus dedi, Nonis Junii, Anno Dnii. 1565.

The occurrence of two such names in this one dedication makes this

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volume an outstanding monument of Reformation history. A similar autograph dedication would be difficult, if not impossible, to find.

This edition was printed by H. Estienne (Stephanus) in Geneva, Switzerland. It is Stephanus who established the principle of a critical apparatus for the New Testament in his *editio regia*, printed at Paris in 1550. The volume is still in its original binding, embossed pigskin over wooden boards, with brass clasps. There are no marginal annotations to indicate that Bullinger ever used the volume for intensive study.

EDGAR KRENTZ

BRIEF ITEMS FROM "RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE"

Minneapolis, Minn.—Concern over the future of the National Lutheran Council in view of two projected mergers involving its eight member bodies was expressed by some editors attending the annual convention of the National Lutheran Editors' and Managers' Association here.

As a result, the editors' section of the association went on record urging leaders of Lutheran Church bodies to meet for informal conferences to consider ways "to strengthen avenues of inter-Lutheran co-operation such as the National Lutheran Council and to explore new roads that may lead to further co-operative efforts. . . ." It also expressed hope that "our churches may be led to bear witness to our Lord as one united body of all Lutherans in the U.S.A."

In a panel discussion on Lutheran unity at the convention, Dr. E. E. Ryden, Rock Island, Ill., editor of the *Lutheran Companion* (Augustana Lutheran), said he hoped that neither of the two Lutheran bodies being created in the mergers "would feel so self-sufficient that it would go it alone without co-operating with the other body."

Dr. Edward W. Schramm, Columbus, Ohio., editor of the *Lutheran Standard* (American Lutheran), who moderated the panel, said he was "very genuinely concerned" about the effect of the mergers on relations in the council. Both Dr. Ryden and Dr. O. G. Malmin, Minneapolis, editor of the *Lutheran Herald* (Evangelical Lutheran), expressed hope that The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod would join the National Lutheran Council or its successor agency.

The Rev. Alfred P. Klausler, Chicago, editor of the *Walther League Messenger* and a pastor of the Missouri Synod, said he was "pessimistic" about the possibilities of the Missouri Synod's joining the National Lutheran Council in the near future.

Dr. L. F. Blankenbuehler, St. Louis, editor of the *Lutheran Witness*, official organ of the Missouri Synod, said his Synod always is ready to join with other Lutheran bodies "but on the basis of doctrine." "There

must be a unity in doctrine before we can work together," he declared. "We have got to see eye to eye on the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible because that's fundamental."

Dr. John M. Jensen, Spencer, Iowa, editor of the Ansgar Lutheran (United Evangelical Lutheran), said he felt a merger of all eight Lutheran bodies in one church would have delayed a larger union. The fact that there will be three groups of equal size will make it easier to get one Lutheran Church in America, he said.

Dr. Ryden said he agreed with this view, but he deplored "pride, prejudice, and personalities," which he felt had disturbed the progress of merger negotiations. He said he was not pessimistic about the future "in spite of all these disappointments." He expressed hope that the new Service Book and Hymnal might be a unifying influence in the eight National Lutheran Council bodies.

Dr. Albert P. Stauderman, Philadelphia, associate editor of *The Lutheran* (United Lutheran), said the danger of two separate merger movements involving the eight National Lutheran Council bodies was that they "might harden into separate groups and remain that way."

Dr. Fredrik Schiotz, Minneapolis, president of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, who addressed the editors and managers at the convention dinner, took note of the concern for the National Lutheran Council's future. He said it is obvious that there will have to be a reorganization of the council because of the mergers, but stressed "reorganization does not need to mean any lessening of the area of co-operation. I hope there will be an enlarged area. There might be 'two tracks under one shed' in the reorganized council," he suggested. Areas of practical matters in which the Missouri Synod co-operates, such as relief and chaplaincy work, might be conducted on one track, he proposed. On the other could be the more "intimate" work in which matters of faith are involved, he suggested.

Dr. Schiotz pleaded that the bodies "continue to have confidence in one another even if now and then we have a detour."

Stockholm.—The General Assembly of the Swedish State Lutheran Church, meeting in extraordinary session here, accepted the government's proposal for the ordination of women as pastors by a vote of 69 to 29, with two abstentions. With this approval, the bill authorizing the ordination of women in the state church, already passed by both chambers of the Riksdag (Parliament), will become effective January 1, 1959.

The Assembly in 1957 voted 62 to 36 against such ordination. The government-sponsored measure was introduced and passed by the Riksdag last spring. However, women could not be ordained until

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the bill was approved by the state church. If the Church Assembly had again exercised its veto right, a constitutional revision proposing abolition of this privilege was expected to be submitted to the Riksdag.

The church's 2-to-1 endorsement of the ordination of women was in agreement with a survey of 119 parishes a year ago, in which two thirds of the congregations said they would approve women as ministers. Some of the younger clergy also had declared themselves in favor of the proposal. Bishop Nils Bolander of Lund, elected to his see last summer, had stated he approved the bill.

Opposing the measure was an antiordination group formed a few months ago by some 600 pastors and laymen of the church and headed by Bishop Bo Giertz of Gothenburg. As stated at the time, the group's objective was to persuade Lutheran pastors not to co-operate with female ministers under any circumstances, even if this meant breaking Swedish law. The campaign was directed particularly against government circles favoring women's ordination. Some observers expect the group to continue its effort and resist implementation of the law when it becomes effective.

Jerusalem. — Ancient Caesarea on the Palestine coast, built by Herod the Great and named after the Roman Emperor Caesar Augustus, is slated for reconstruction. Plans for a new modern city on the site of the historic old port were announced here by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, founder of the Caesarea Development Corp. Around the ruins of the once magnificent civil and military capital of Judea, he said, a new garden city with a light industry center and an international camping area will arise. The medieval ruins, dating from the Crusades, will be restored as a tourist attraction. A golf course will surround the old Roman amphitheater.

It was in Caesarea that St. Peter baptized the centurion Cornelius, the evangelist Philip resided, and the apostle Paul often sojourned and was imprisoned two years before being taken to Rome.

Half the shares in the development corporation are owned by the Israel government, Baron de Rothschild said.

St. Louis, Mo.—Five new languages and 11 new lands have been added to the schedule of the Lutheran Hour Gospel broadcast during its 25th year, which has just ended. This brings to 59 the number of languages used on the program and to 68 the number of countries from which stations beam the global broadcast, according to Paul Friedrich, executive director of the Lutheran Laymen's League, sponsors of the Lutheran Hour.

The new languages are: Arusha-Masai, Chagga, Efik, Ibo, and Swahili. The new lands are Aruba, Belgian Congo, Cameroons, Gibral-

tar, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tahiti, Tarawa, Thailand, and Togoland.

Mr. Friedrich reported that 1,314 Lutheran Hour broadcasts are now made regularly from 1,044 stations around the world at a cost of \$1,545,000 annually. Speaker on the English versions of the program is Dr. Oswald C. J. Hoffmann of New York, Public Relations Director of The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod, with which the League is affiliated.

BRIEF ITEMS FROM NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL

Dayton, Ohio.—A milestone on the way to the merger of four Lutheran church bodies was passed when the 21st biennial convention of the United Lutheran Church in America here overwhelmingly approved provisional plans for union with the Augustana, the AELC, and the Suomi Synod. The convention commended the Joint Commission on Lutheran Unity for the blueprint worked out by the representatives of the four church bodies and expressed hope that "it will be God's will that the merger will speedily come to pass."

The ULCA was the last of the four merging bodies to give official approval to the commission's blueprint, as the three other bodies had done at the conventions held earlier this year. If the joint commission can complete final merger documents for approval by the 1960 conventions of the four bodies, actual merger could become possible as early as in 1961, ULCA's president, Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, told the convention.

The detailed discussion of the commission's report on the merger plans took up a major part of the week-long ULCA convention here, but throughout the debate delegates indicated an eagerness for merger and refrained from pressing even such issues as they might disagree with on the grounds that they did not want to put the merger talks in jeopardy. There was no debate concerning the joint statement on doctrine. Although individual delegates questioned several provisions concerning the administrative organization of the church-to-be, no motions calling for reconsideration of joint agreements were made. The only exception was an attempt by a minority group to force reconsideration of the joint commission's statement concerning membership of pastors in secret societies "which claim to possess in their teachings and ceremonies that which the Lord has given solely to His church."

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joint statement said. The convention was informed that the statement would definitely apply only to new pastors ordained by the church-to-be. Also, delegates were told that the societies in which membership would be forbidden have not yet been named. The ULCA representatives in the joint commission agreed to the statement "because they felt this to be the only way to go on with our merger discussions," the delegates were told.

President Henry H. Bagger of Luther Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, a member of the commission, said that personally he was "not very much in favor" of the joint statement because "it violates evangelical freedom, establishes double standards for laity and clergy, and puts a matter of pastoral counseling into the field of discipline." However, he repeatedly urged the convention to accept the statement if the delegates did not want to put future merger plans in jeopardy. The ULCA delegates on the joint commission "found themselves faced with a very real question of whether or not we want the whole proposition of merger to go to the ground, and we decided the price was worth paying," Dr. Bagger added.

A showdown vote on the issue was forced when the Rev. Luther E. Schlenker of Parkasie, Pa., moved to "instruct" the joint commission to reconsider the statement which "does violence to the unity of the ministry by setting up one standard for those now ordained and another for those who shall be ordained." During the following, sometimes highly emotional debate, Dr. Fry warned the delegates that by their vote they will have to decide "one of the most serious questions that has faced the ULCA." The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the joint statement as presented by the commission.

Winnipeg, Canada. — Dr. T. O. F. Herzer, prominent lay supporter of Canadian Lutheran programs in refugee resettlement and overseas material aid, died here October 7. An active member of The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod, he was treasurer of Canadian Lutheran World Relief and chairman of the Canadian Christian Council for Resettlement of Refugees, an organization of which he was a leading founder. A telegram sent Mrs. Herzer by Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, read: "LWF expresses sincere sympathy on the death of Dr. Herzer. We remember with gratitude all valuable services as refugee and relief programs. May God be with you."

San Antonio. — The American Lutheran Church gave overwhelming endorsement here to final plans for its merger with two other

Lutheran bodies into a single church of more than two million members.

At the same time the ALC's 15th biennial convention rejected a mild effort to gain support for "The Evangelical Lutheran Church" as the name for the new body that will be constituted in April of 1960. Instead, the delegates reaffirmed the ALC's satisfaction with the original proposal to use its own name for the united Church.

By unanimous voice vote, the convention accepted all the merger resolutions recommended by the Joint Union Committee of the ALC, Evangelical Lutheran Church, and United Evangelical Lutheran Church. Without debate, the delegates approved the constitution and by laws for adoption by the constituting convention, adopted the articles of union, and endorsed the timetable for merger.

In a separate resolution, the convention's committee on merger matters recommended approval of "The American Lutheran Church" as the name agreed upon by the Joint Union Committee of the uniting churches. The committee pointed out that the proposed name has been widely publicized and has already become known, that it has proved "very fitting and helpful in the work" of the present ALC, and that it seemed "inadvisable" to make a change at this point in the union negotiations. Furthermore, the committee said, "the true character and significance of the united church will be determined by its evangelical doctrine and its concern for souls."

The committee's recommendation was adopted with only nine of the nearly 200 delegates dissenting after a heavy voice vote defeated the substitute motion in favor of the name "The Evangelical Lutheran Church." The substitute was proposed by the Rev. Theodore B. Hax of Los Angeles, Calif., who said he spoke for a "considerable constituency" that wanted the word "Evangelical" to appear in the name of the merged church.

Less than a half hour was devoted to discussion of the issue, which was brought to the fore last June when the Evangelical Lutheran Church expressed an overwhelming preference for the name "The United Evangelical Lutheran Church."

The ELC's representatives on the Joint Union Committee, composed of nine members from each body, were instructed to vote as a block in the committee for a constitutional amendment on the name of the new church. Efforts to change the name seem doomed to failure, however, as both the ALC and UELC have now taken official action in favor of the original proposal. Any amendment must be approved by a two thirds vote of the 27-member committee to bring it before the constituting convention in 1960.

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BOOK REVIEW

All books reviewed in this periodical may be procured from or through Concordia Publishing House, 3558 South Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis 18, Missouri.

- THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. By Walther Eichrodt. Part I: Gott und Volk. 5th edition. Stuttgart: Ehrenfried Klotz Verlag, 1957. 362 pages. Cloth. DM 13.80.
- OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By Ludwig Koehler. Translated by A. S. Todd. London: Lutterworth Press, 1957. 259 pages. Cloth. 35/—.
- THEOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Edmond Jacob. Translated by Arthur W. Heathcote and Philip J. Allcock. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. 368 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

Three recent reissues or translations of noteworthy Old Testament theologies not only cover common ground but also are significant symbols of the recently burgeoning interest in Old Testament theology.

Oldest in point of time and largest by far in scope is Eichrodt's work, which began to appear in 1933. As Eichrodt points out in the preface to the present fifth edition, the original work has not been altered materially except where more recent researches and approaches have demanded it, most notably in the consideration of cultic influences on prophetism and kingship. Extended footnotes usually acknowledge and evaluate briefly the more recent literature. This means that the virtues and weaknesses (the latter relatively minor) of the book are approximately the same as upon first appearance, and one can only wonder why no English publisher has undertaken a translation.

In an attempt to avoid a dogmatic approach to Old Testament theology, Eichrodt focuses his material about the idea of the covenant, a concept which is, with few exceptions, quite congenial to his material. A weakness of the work is undoubtedly that it devotes so much space to the purely phenomenological aspects of Israel's religion that in many respects it is a background to Old Testament theology rather than a theology itself. This, however, is not to disparage its at times nearly encyclopedic or concordantic value for theological issues.

Detailed attention is given to the materials of comparative religion, with the intent both to illustrate Israel's dependence on, and involvement in, its environment and conversely, to demontrate how Israel's unique faith usually completely "baptized" and reworked what it inherited from its neighbors. Eichrodt's treatment of the classical prophets is, this reviewer feels, not excelled even by many works devoted exclusively to that topic.

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The author is also, finally, at pains to illustrate the incompleteness of the Old Testament and its forward movement toward the New Testament. The nature of the organic connection between the Testaments is treated explicitly and quite satisfyingly in the final pages of Vol. I (pp. 343 ff.). In the body of the work, then, Eichrodt deals not so much with the specifics of a "fulfillment" as with the provisional character of many of the Old Testament themes, and especially with their truncation and perversion in intertestamental Judaism, such as only the New Testament could remedy.

Much less ambitious in scope and more traditional in its arrangement is the work of Koehler (who is famous for his lexicographical labors). This work first appeared in 1935, and the present translation has been made from the third edition, dated in 1953. Koehler's central theme is that of Yahweh's lordship, to which proper response is demanded on the part of man.

Following the more traditional scheme of "theology, anthropology, soteriology," Koehler rather eclectically treats only those concepts and viewpoints in the Old Testament which seem theologically significant to him. One quandary into which this approach leads him (as he himself admits) is the question of what to do with the cult. He argues that it belongs neither to soteriology nor to anthropology, but that since "the essential dialectic of the Old Testament cult [is] that man tries to save himself by his works," he finally places it as a sort of appendix at the end of the section on anthropology. He does not explore very thoroughly the basic unity-in-variety of the Old Testament message or the relationship of the Old Testament with the New.

In spite of its occasionally arbitrary oversystematization, some historical sense of development and unfolding is maintained. A solid concordance study and many statistics lie behind the many excellent investigations into the meanings of Old Testament words and concepts. The many valuable notes contain stimulating suggestions for further investigation. Many of the conclusions are epigrammatic and highly quotable (also in sermons!). For all of its occasional shortcomings, it will prove to be a highly serviceable and penetrating introduction to the world of Old Testament theology.

Jacob's work will probably, in this reviewer's judgment, prove to be the most valuable of all for the average pastoral reader. Its sprightly, scintillating style (even in translation) makes it a positive joy to read. In addition, the author offers many original suggestions and creative combinations. It is quite probably the most comprehensive Old Testament theology to be published in English since Davidson's work (again available in reprint form, incidentally) came out in 1904. The bibliographical references are superb, and one may also note the author's strong (sometimes too strong) accent on etymology in the brief word studies with which the book abounds.

Jacob's major motif is that of God's activity as the Creator and Lord of

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history, and especially of man. An echo of the traditional "theology, anthropology, soteriology" arrangement will also be heard here, but Jacob employs this outline much more freely and imaginatively than does Koehler. A lengthy introduction to the work entitled "historical and methodological considerations," tracing the history of Old Testament theology and its relation to other disciplines, will prove highly profitable.

The author believes that "a theology of the Old Testament can only be a Christology, for what was revealed under the old covenant, through a long and varied history, in events, persons and institutions, is, in Christ, gathered together and brought to perfection. . . . A perfectly objective study makes us discern already in the Old Testament the same message of the God who is present, of the God who saves and of the God who comes, which characterizes the Gospel" (p. 4). Accordingly, the climax and fulfillment of the Old Testament in the New is highlighted repeatedly in the work, and the author's conservative (but not fundamentalistic) orientation is nowhere more apparent than in his treatment of the traditional Messianic prophecies. Jacob has since 1946 been Old Testament professor on the faculty of Protestant theology at the University of Strasbourg.

CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDERS. By Oliver L. Kapsner. 2d edition. Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's Abbey Press, 1957. xxxviii and 594 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

This planographed directory of Roman Catholic religious orders, "listing," the subtitle tells us, "conventional and full names in English, foreign language, and Latin, also abbreviations, date and country of origin, and founders," is obviously a librarian's delight — and the very first sentence of the preface states that it was intended primarily for the use of library cataloguers. At the same time it will command the gratitude of every person, regardless of denomination, who has a serious interest in the Roman Catholic Church. Listed are 1,777 different associations, present and preterite, from the Adorers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Montmartre (founded in France in 1898 by Mother Marie de St. Pierre) through 52 kinds of Sisters of St. Joseph to the Zelatrices of the Blessed Sacrament (founded in France around 1850, with no information about the foundress available). The total number of entries must run close to 7,000. The Benedictine compiler has been prodigiously diligent in assembling material - the bibliography alone covers 11 pages. There is a 23-page list of founders and a 14-page glossary. Obvious gaps — for instance, we are told that the Noble Ladies of the Hradschin in Prague survive as a community of secular canonesses (p. xv), but the roster proper does not list them - are few. The compiler reminds his readers, however, that "new books are constantly disclosing the existence of unheard-of religious orders, while European editors of long experience continue to deplore the reluctance of some religious houses to reveal their identity" (p. xi). ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

CONSCIENCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By C. A. Pierce. Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, 1955. 151 pages. Paper. \$1.50.

In a long subtitle, Pierce, chaplain of Magdalen College, Cambridge, describes this superbly organized, painstaking analysis of the classical and Biblical materials as "a study of syneidesis in the New Testament, in the light of its sources, and with particular reference to St. Paul, with some observations regarding its relevance today." He is "certain that the New Testament writers not only took over the word conscience [that is, συνείδησις] and its connotation complete from Greek popular thought but also left them in general as they found them. . . . Conscience in the New Testament . . . is the painful reaction of man's nature as morally responsible, against infringement of its created limits past, present by virtue of initiation in the past, habitual or characteristic by virtue of frequent past infringements. It can secondarily be depicted as his capacity so to react, and this capacity in turn can be represented in terms of a near-personal metaphor" (page 108). Pastors who suspect with some uneasiness that "conscience" has declined both in theological thought and in popular expression from the New Testament meaning will find this investigation as practical as it is scholarly.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

VADIAN UND SEINE STADT ST. GALLEN. Volume I: BIS 1518, HUMANIST IN WIEN; 1944; 382 pages. Volume II: 1518 BIS 1551, BÜRGERMEISTER UND REFORMATOR VON ST. GALLEN; 1957; 552 pages. By Werner Näf. St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchandlung. Cloth. Price not given.

A giant statue of the reformer Joachim von Watt dominates the market place of St. Gall, the city with which his name is associated as Zwingli's is with Zurich and Calvin's with Geneva. In these two substantial volumes Naf, who among present-day Swiss historians has the most universal historical interests, presents an exhaustive study of the great churchman against the religious, cultural, and institutional background of Switzerland and the Germanies before and during the Reformation. Unlike the seven previous biographies of Vadian, this definitive work devotes one whole volume to Vadian the humanist, for a real understanding of Vadian the reformer is impossible without an accurate knowledge of Vadian's career during his 17 years in Vienna as a student of the German archhumanist Conrad Celtis, as a successor to Cospus in the chair of poetry at the University of Vienna, as vice-chancellor, rector, and poet-laureate, as a Collimitian in the Gelebrtenrepublik which continued the traditions of the Danubian sodality, as the editor of various classics and author of works such as his De poetica, and as a physician. The analysis is excellent, avoiding such easy generalizations as merely tagging Vadian an Erasmian. Näf observes that Vadian never really developed into a cosmopolitan humanist. Throughout his humanist period he always held theology to be the highest discipline and Christ to be the fullest Revelation. It was

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a basic seriousness of purpose which led him back in 1518 from high position in the world center Vienna to the provincial city of St. Gall, where he was to win worldwide fame.

The real significance of Vadian as a humanist emerges from the account of Vadian the reformer. Here is an excellent case study of "how humanism and Reformation were related to each other, not in the abstraction of cultural-historical types but as living forces in the life of men" (II, 108). Naf's central thesis is clearly that "Vadian came from humanism to Reformation so that the religious power stirred by the Reformation poured into his humanist spirituality. He did not change his character, but the quiescent religiosity of his earlier years, which had been content with philosophical-poetical expression and moral assistance, now through the Reformation upsurge became a power in him" (II, 109). The remainder of Vadian's life is the story of how this power was applied in the area of ecclesiastical reform, in his political activity to the battle of Kappel and after, and in his theological writings and a vast correspondence. Far from becoming irrelevant, Vadian's humanism achieved fulfillment through the demands of the Reformation for its application to immediate urgent practical problems.

Näi's study of Vadian, which he first resolved to undertake as early as 1922, is more than a superb biography. It is a searching examination in concrete terms of the relationship of Christian humanism to the Reformation, an area which merits much further exploration by Reformation scholarship.

LEWIS W. SPITZ, JR.

THE REFORMED PULPIT. Volume I. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Society for Reformed Publications, 1956. 145 pages. Cloth. \$2.00.

Fourteen sermons on texts from the Old and the New Testament present the accents of the Dutch Reformed Church and ministry. Themes stress the way of salvation, the meaning of the church, and one, "Social Implications of the Reformed Faith," the implications of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND NATURAL SCIENCE. By Karl Heim. Translated from the German by N. Horton Smith. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. 256 pages. Paper. \$1.25.

This book came out in German in 1949, in English in 1953; the present edition is a "Torchbook" paperback reprint. After almost a decade it is still one of the most important and influential contributions that Lutheran theology has made to the debate between science and religion. Although best read in conjunction with Heim's later works, to which it is a broad introduction (and which we may hope will soon follow it in the "Torchbook" series), it is complete in itself. No book is "the" answer in this field, but Heim has written "an" answer that continues to command attention.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

TIME AND WESTERN MAN. By [Percy] Wyndham Lewis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. xv and 469 pages. Paper. \$1.95.

Precisely because Lewis was an artist and not an academician, his philosophical works—*Time and Western Man* included—are far more lively than those which ordinarily come from the pens of professional metaphysicians. Although directed at the situation which prevailed in 1927, when the philosophical, scientific, and literary names to conjure with included Alexander, Bergson, Whitehead, Einstein, Spengler, Joyce, Proust, and Gertrude Stein, there is enough solid meat in his criticism of the "Time-view" to justify this reprint three decades later (in the very year, incidentally, of his death).

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE CELEBRANT AND MINISTERS OF THE EUCHARIST. By R. C. Mortimer. London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1957. 40 pages. Paper. 4/6.

First in a new series of "Studies in Eucharistic Faith and Practice," this essay by the very Anglo-Catholic Bishop of Oxford is an attempt to report the prehistory of the rule that "no one but a priest who has been duly ordained (rite ordinatus) can celebrate [the] Sacrament [of the Altar]" prior to its 13th century formulation by the Fourth Lateran Council, plus some observations on concelebration and the liturgical function of the deacon. The brochure has the virtue of being a compact rehearsal of the evidence. The presentation is thoroughly traditional; no new evidence is introduced, and the knotty problems presented by the exceptional circumstances that Tertullian envisions (De exhortatione castitatis, 7), by the second- and third-century confessor celebrants "whose confession was their ordination" (Canons of Hippolytus, VI, 43 ff.), and by the Eucharistic ministry of the nonepiscopal early charismatic prophets (Didache X, 7; XIII, 3; XV, 1-2) are, alas, not even adverted to.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE GREEKS AND THE IRRATIONAL. By E. R. Dodds. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. 327 pages. Paper. \$1.75.

INTIMATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT GREEKS. By Simone Weil. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958. 208 pages. Cloth. \$3.95.

Two more different books on the spiritual side of the ancient Greeks can scarcely be imagined, even though both appear under the imprint of the same publisher. Dodds' work, originally a series of Sather Lectures at the University of California, is a model of precision and scholarship coupled with a clear and pleasing presentation. Starting with the methods of modern anthropology, he traces the nonlogical elements of Greek culture from Homer through Plato, with a final chapter on the Hellenistic world. There is so much excellent material in the book that one fears to single out any one aspect as superior; still, the discussion of Orphism was to this reviewer the high point of the book.

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ears ism Miss Weil's work is almost the direct antithesis of Dodds'. There has been careful reading of ancient texts, but in the mystical tradition that looks for associations with Christianity. Miss Weil finds the beast of the Apocalypse to be the same as that of *Republic VI* (p. 86) and finds the Trinity and the cross in *Timaeus* 36 b (p. 94). This is neither Plato nor Christianity. The book will give you an insight into the mind of mysticism. It will not fulfill the promise of the title.

EDGAR KRENTZ

A COMPANION TO THE BIBLE. Edited by Jean-Jacques von Allmen. Translated from the 2d French edition by P. J. Allcock and others. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. 479 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

VOCABULAIRE BIBLIQUE. Edited by Jean-Jacques von Allmen. Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1954. 314 pages. Cloth. 21 Swiss Francs.

This is the French original and the English translation (the latter with an introduction by H. H. Rowley) of a new theological lexicon of Biblical concepts, a kind of Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch in miniature. The authors of the articles are 37 Swiss and French scholars, most of whom are not well known in this country, although others, like Oscar Cullmann and Suzanne de Dietrich, have solid intercontinent reputations. In essence it is a modern Biblical theology organized on an alphabetical rather than a systematic basis; but the liberal use of cross-references makes it possible to concentrate on fairly long articles and to redress the tendency toward atomization that the alphabetic organization might have brought with it. The deliberately Biblical approach transcends many traditional denominational positions. In part this Biblical thrust also makes it impossible to fit the book into a neat theological category. In general, the authors take a moderate position in issues of Biblical criticism; their theological position is broadly conservative. In the inevitable comparison with A Theological Word-Book of the Bible, edited by Alan Richardson, the present title in general stands somewhat to the right of the earlier work theologically. All in all, it is a convenient compendium of contemporary reverent European Calvinist Biblical scholarship.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE FREE CHURCH. Franklin Hamlin Littell. Boston: Starr King Press, 1957. xvi and 171 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

Yale-trained clergyman-educator Littell is a Methodist, a past dean of the Boston University chapel, quondam chairman of the Ecumenical Committee of the Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag, and a sometime member of the religious affairs branch of the office of the postwar United States High Commissioner for Germany. He is also a stanch and articulate defender of the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition, which he regards as the classical expression of the Free Church idea that claims at least the lip service of the bulk of American Protestantism. The present volume reproduces his Menno Simons Lectures of 1954. In seven chapters Littell

considers the Anabaptist-Mennonite protest against politically enforced religious conformity and applies its message to concrete aspects of the American situation, among them *Kulturreligion*, the public school ("enforced secularism"), the "gnosis of modern pacifism," problems of community, internal discipline, and ecumenics. He makes full use of the increasing information that recent researches have brought to light about the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement of the 16th century, although his application of their principles to the present American churches is sometimes exceedingly broad. It represents, in principle, a plea for a return by American Free Churchmen to the authentically democratic way of reaching a problem-solving consensus through discussion, coupled with the conviction that "if a people call on [God's] name with abandon, He [will] not leave them without guidance." ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

SOCINIANISM IN POLAND: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE POLISH ANTITRINITARIANS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES (IDEOLOGIA POLITYCZA I SPOLECZNA BRACI POLSKICH ZWANYCH ARJANAMI). By Stanislas Kot. Translated by Earl Morse Wilbur. Boston: Starr King Press, c. 1957. xxvii and 226 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

Kot, sometime professor of the history of Polish culture at the University of Cracow and an authority on the Reformation in Poland, wrote the original of this work a quarter of a century ago; the late translator was a well-known American Unitarian historian. Kot traces the emergence of Polish Unitarianism ("Socinianism") under the leadership of the Antitrinitarian Peter Gonesius in the mid-sixteenth century; describes its growth among the Moravian, Anabaptist, and Calvinist communities in Poland-Lithuania; chronicles the roles of the ex-Dominican James Palaeologus, of Simon Budny, of Faustus Sozzini, of Samuel Przypkowski, and of other leaders of the movement; and recounts the developments that preceded the expulsion of the Polish Brethren from their homeland in 1660. As a historian of culture, Kot gives particular attention to the political and social doctrines of this group, whose influence and literary output (over 500 titles during the period surveyed) were quite out of proportion to their numbers, but their religious convictions are also carefully traced. Though rather technical, Kot's work furnishes a welcome addition to our knowledge of a group about whom little has been published in English. ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS. By [John] Frederick Denison Maurice. New York: Harper and Brothers, c. 1957. 331 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

Of these essays, first published in 1853, Maurice said that they voiced "the deepest thoughts that are in me and have been in me, working for a long time." On account of their unorthodoxy, their publication cost this socially concerned ex-Unitarian Anglican priest and professor his posts at King's College, London, although after a brief principalship of

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the Working Men's College, which he founded, he subsequently held two Church of England benefices and a professorship of moral philosophy at Cambridge before his death in 1872. He was no man to be neatly pigeonholed; among other things, he was a Broad Churchman who polemicized against the Higher Criticism of his time. His influence on many of his contemporaries was profound, but it was chiefly a personal impact. His theological influence—and he intended first and foremost to be a theologian—has come with a gradual revival of interest in the position which he represented. The modern reader of these rugged century-old essays will find some passages that sound curiously archaic, but more that are astonishingly up to date, just as he will find some passages that are obscure or difficult or disagreeable, but more that will shake and challenge him to a posture of theological attention. Canon Edward F. Carpenter's prefatory essay does a good job of setting the stage.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE STORY OF THE CHURCH. By Winthrop S. Hudson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. xii and 107 pages. Cloth. \$2.25.

Hudson, professor of the history of Christianity at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, has done a first-rate job of condensing the history of the Christian Church. His exposition of Luther's doctrine of sola gratia is excellent; his omission of the sacraments in the church (except for two brief references to Baptism) needs correction. The churches in America, except the Disciples of Christ, receive scant attention. Hudson's particular concern, how the churches secured freedom, is emphasized in Chapter IX. The ten chapters could well be used for adult discussion groups in the congregation, Sunday school teachers meetings, and so on. The questions at the end of each chapter are stimulating; the brief bibliographies are helpful. The book is nicely illustrated. Laymen will find this an excellent introduction to church history. Can the publisher be persuaded that a paperback edition will be profitable?

CARL S. MEYER

NOTICES AND VOYAGES OF THE FAMED QUEBEC MISSION TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. Translated from the French by Carl Landerholm. Portland, Oreg.: The Campoeg Press, 1956. Cloth. iv and 255 pages. \$15.00.

The subtitle describes this work as "the correspondence, notices, etc., of Fathers Blanchet and Demers, together with those of Fathers Bolduc and Langlois (containing much remarkable information on the areas and inhabitants of the Columbia, Walamette, Cowlitz, and Fraser rivers, Nesqually Bay, Puget Sound, Whidby and Vancouver islands), while on their arduous mission to the engagés of the Hudson's Bay Company and the pagan natives, 1838 to 1847. With accounts of several voyages around Cape Horn to Valparaiso and to the Sandwich Islands, etc."

Landerholm, a resident of Vancouver, Wash., deserves high commendation for retrieving these documents and for translating them into such readable English. To the Oregon Historical Society a further word of commendation must be spoken for making these documents available to scholars and interested readers. These reports to the Archbishop of Quebec from the Pacific Northwest are full of careful observations about the country, the native inhabitants, and the activities of the missionaries. Occasional references are made, too, to other missionaries, Methodists, for instance, in this region. The reproduction of the "ladder of religion" is precious. There is much in these reports that might be commented on, for there is much of value in the primary sources here given. This work ought to be disseminated much more widely than this edition of a thousand copies will allow. Perhaps the Oregon Historical Society will issue another, cheaper edition; it will command a ready market. CARL S. MEYER

THE TRAVAIL OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. By Roland H. Bainton. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 272 pages. Paper. \$1.45.

Torquemada, Calvin, Servetus, Castellio, Joris, Ochino, Milton, Williams, and Locke seem like an odd assortment of characters to treat under one topic. Bainton does it successfully. As persecutors and persecuted or as pleaders for religious liberty they belong together under this topic as he presents it. Bainton needs no introduction as an authority in 16th-century history or as a writer with a fascinating style. Harper and Brothers is to be commended for making this volume available as a Torchbook. The conflicts for religious liberty in the 20th century call for an understanding of struggles for freedom of conscience in previous centuries.

CARL S. MEYER

TRANSLATORS AND TRANSLATIONS: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE. By Harold L. Phillips. Anderson, Ind.: The Warner Press, 1958. vii and 104 pages. Cloth. \$2.00.

This book presents a brief but arresting sketch of the history of the making of the English Bible from the days before Wycliffe down through the Revised Standard Version. The author clearly accents the need of ongoing translation of the Sacred Scriptures.

FREDERICK W. DANKER

TEACHING IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. By Theo. J. C. Kuehnert. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958. Textbook, paper. 132 pages. \$.60. Instructor's Guide, \$1.25. Test Sheets, \$.20.

This newest publication in the Concordia Leadership Training Series offers an effective training tool for persons who teach in the Sunday school. When used as an introductory course, its purpose is twofold: (1) to acquaint the teacher with his important position and to make him conscious of his needs and responsibilities; (2) to make the beginner conscious of the need of other courses in the same series, such as doctrine, methods of teaching, administration, etc. When used with

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experienced teachers it will serve as a refresher course of principles previously learned. The course, therefore, is designed to be taken by a staff composed of both beginners and experienced teachers.

The course is made up of eight chapters or lessons, which are titled as follows: The Purpose and Scope of the Sunday School, The Position of the Teacher, Children and Their Way of Learning, Effective Methods of Teaching, Teaching Aids and Their Use, Preparing to Teach the Lesson, Teaching the Lesson, and Growth in the Service of God and the Church.

The Instructor's Guide is co-ordinated with the student's textbook and offers supplementary material to assist the instructor in conducting the class. Here he will find things to be emphasized, the answers to be expected, hints and suggestions for conducting the class, and interpretations of materials in the textbook.

Much may be said on the subject of teaching in the Sunday school. This course says it well.

HARRY G. COINER

AN INSTRUMENT FOR EVALUATING LUTHERAN ELEMEN-TARY SCHOOLS. By Frederick Nohl, Board for Parish Education, The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958. Paper. 142 pages. \$2.25.

On the premise that the quality of Lutheran education is as important as its quantity, Lutheran schools are furnished an instrument by which the total educational program may be evaluated.

The instrument is in itself quite complete. Its three main purposes are to explain evaluation, to motivate teachers and others to evaluate their schools, and to provide an evaluation instrument. The persons who use this instrument will be pleased with the introduction, which clearly states the role of evaluation in the Lutheran elementary school, how to evaluate the Lutheran elementary school, and how to use the evaluation instrument.

Section One is designed to enable those responsible for the conduct of the school to revise or develop a statement of educational philosophy and objectives and furnish procedures by which the same may be applied to school life in the particular situation. Sections Two to Five present standards for the curriculum, including pupil activities, the school plant, special school services, and administration and supervision. A bibliography of helpful references completes the book.

This is no Sherlock Holmes check list which some visiting dignitary uses in his inspection visit, but an evaluation program which involves the ongoing efforts of the school staff, the board of education, the parents, and the voters' assembly. The book is dedicated to the glory of God. We repeat the prefatory statement: "May He bless its mission of helping home and church to train a generation that sets its hope in God."

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THE TWO-EDGED SWORD: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By John L. McKenzie. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. 317 pages. Cloth. \$4.50.

A scholarly Jesuit has here attempted to make the Old Testament meaningful for nonspecialist readers, especially those who are dismayed by the results of modern historical and critical research. He deplores the neglect of the Old Testament by most of his coreligionists; to remedy the situation he offers this volume as a kind of Old Testament theology and hermeneutics for nonspecialists. He has succeeded admirably in attaining his objective.

As Fr. McKenzie points out, "readers, whether [Roman] Catholic or not, may be surprised to learn how much freedom of opinion the [Roman Catholic] Church wishes her members to enjoy" (p. vi). Nowhere is this attitude more apparent than in Biblical studies, with the result that the Roman Church is making many significant contributions, both on popular and on scholarly levels, in this area.

In addition to our usual quota of marginal question marks and the inevitable oversimplifications and unexplored problems, we might venture minor general criticisms in two areas: (1) While the author is eminently successful in setting Israel in its historical milieu and in achieving a historical interpretation of the Old Testament, more attention might have been paid to the development of thought from one period to the next. (2) The apologetic emphasis on Israel's uniqueness perhaps fails to distinguish sufficiently between the certainty of faith and the certainty of history.

HORACE HUMMEL

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMA. By Adolf von Harnack, translated from the German by Edwin Knox Mitchell. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. xxxiii and 567 pages. Paper. \$1.95.

This English version of the condensation of Von Harnack's seven-volume magnum opus naturally reveals, though to a lesser degree than the unabbreviated history of dogma or his monographs do, his almost uncanny sense for the right conclusion in a matter of detail. And it discloses his remarkable skill — for which even those who disagree with Von Harnack's major theological and church-historical premises are grateful, and rightfully so — in selecting and highlighting precisely those elements of a situation or a system which are essential for an accurate over-all impression. Seminary librarians, who have had difficulty in keeping copies of the original edition from wandering out of reference collections, will, among others, be grateful for this photolithoprinted reissue at a price that puts it within any student's or pastor's reach. Brandeis University's Philip Rieff prefaces this reprint with a perceptive essay that is both an interesting analysis and a generous tribute to this influential member of "the unmitered hierarchy of Protestantism, the professoriate."

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

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NATION UNDER GOD: A RELIGIOUS-PATRIOTIC ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Frances Brentano. Great Neck: Channel Press, 1957. xix and 362 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

Boston-born and Radcliffe-trained Brentano herewith comes out with her third anthology. The sequence of words in the title reflects the book more accurately than the sequence of adjectives in the subtitle; the substantial stress is on "nation" and "patriotic," while the "religious" element to a large extent lacks specific content and "God" turns out rather frequently to be an inoffensively syncretist deity. As a collection of patriotic pieces which recognize the role that various denominations, various theologies, and various religions have played in the making of America, it has its virtues. The 87 excerpts are in general brief, well chosen, well edited. Distinguished names appear among the authors — Carl Carmer, Carl van Doren, Catherine Drinker Bowen, Ida M. Tarbell, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Remembered as well as inevitable names stalk the pages as subjects — among them George Whitefield, the Muhlenbergs, John Peter Zenger, Learned Hand, Sojourner Truth, James Cardinal Gibbons, Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, Narcissa and Marcus along with Walt Whitman, Will Mayo, and Adoniram Judson. It all adds up to a pleasant primer of patriotic inspiration.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

ANDREW, BROTHER OF SIMON PETER: HIS HISTORY AND LEGENDS. By Peter M. Peterson. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958. 69 pages. Cloth. 12.00 Guilders.

The apostle Andrew plays little or no role in the synoptic Gospels and Acts. In John's Gospel he is placed into a position of leadership (p. 5). Yet even here his role is small compared with that of Peter and John. In the Eastern Church, however, the "First-called" assumes an increasingly larger role in tradition down to the 12th century. Peterson traces this history in the Greek, Western, Egyptian, and Syrian branches of the church. In the East Pseudo-Epiphanios and Pseudo-Dorotheos are the most influential compilers of traditional material. Peterson considers the original Acts of Andrew to date from the last quarter of the second century, written as a defense of Gnostic theology. Other interesting details are brought out, as, for example, that the Acts of Peter and Andrew was an early defense of monasticism (p. 35), but that Andrew later developed into "the saint of women seeking men" (p. 43). There is a survey of the Andrew legend in Christian art. The book is provided with a good bibliography and translations of the Byzantine Narratio and the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, but no index. Unfortunately the work is marred by some minor omissions and too many errors in proofreading. Still, the content is good. It illustrates the tendency to embellish fact with romance that characterized much of the hagiography of the medieval church.

EDGAR KRENTZ

THE IMAGE OF MAN IN AMERICA. By Don M. Wolfe. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1957. x and 482 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

"Man is on occasion infinitely more cruel, degraded, and murderous than any animal; to unspeakable ends he can direct a high intelligence, an imagination, an accumulation of science that no animal can muster. Is this depravity in man rooted in his genetic structure? Is he innately evil, as some philosophers contend? Or is this depravity merely the extension of the environmental pressures under which he lives?" (P. 5.) The purpose of this essay in intellectual history by a Brooklyn College English professor and Milton scholar is to show how American thinkers have answered these and similar questions. From Jefferson to Kinsey he polls the great names — de Tocqueville, Mann, Emerson, Lincoln, Holmes, Whitman, Howells, Bellamy, George, Mark Twain, Henry and Brooks Adams, William James, Darrow, Steffens, Broun, Veblen, Dewey, Dreiser, Faulkner, Hemingway, Terman, Gesell. Intercalated are italicized chapters that set the stage for the American drama as it moves along - the crucial events of 1835, 1855, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1915, 1924, 1935, 1945, 1955. Wolfe's hope lies in human "plasticity"; the Messianic deliverer in this completely secular locus de homine is "the cooperative science of man yet to come," of which anthropology as we know it is a kind of John the Baptist. The religious reader will rightly deplore the extreme secularism of Wolfe's account; he should not let it blind him to the real and very considerable merit of the book when read on its own terms and as ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN far as it goes.

CANONS AND DECREES OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT: ORIGINAL TEXT WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION. By H. J. Schroeder. St. Louis: Herder Book Co., 1955. xxxiii and 108 pages. Cloth. \$7.50.

"Anathema cunctis haereticis," cried the Cardinal of Lorraine on December 4, 1563. "Anathema, anathema," responded as many of the 255 signatories of the minutes (4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, 39 proxy holders, and 7 heads of religious orders) as were present. With these words the Council of Trent ended. That Schroeder's scholarly edition of the council's canons and decrees fills a felt need in his own and other denominations is clear from the fact that three printings have been necessary in 14 years. The significance of Trent as the assembly of prelates that gave organizational embodiment to the mildly reformed combination of late medieval scholastic theology and papalist polity, and that thereby confirmed the 16th-century schism in Western Catholicity, is perennial, and Trent is a datum of Lutheran as well as of Roman Catholic Church history. For his Latin text Schroeder uses the Neapolitan edition of 1859, corrected on the basis of the Antwerp edition of 1779 and the Görres-Gesellschaft edition. The English trans-

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lation is accurate, dependable, and as readable as the subject matter permits. The footnotes (fuller in the Latin part) cross-reference the decisions of the council, identify Biblical quotations and allusions, and furnish fruitful leads to patristic sources and pre-Tridentine canonical legislation. Format, printing, and binding are of a quality to justify the book's price.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE EMERGENCE OF LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA. By Robert D. Cross. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. ix and 328 pages. Cloth. \$5.50.

At the threshold of the last decade of the 19th century the Roman Catholic Church in this country could look back with a considerable measure of satisfaction upon a century of existence and growth under her own national hierarchy. At the same time it confronted an internal crisis largely provoked by the acculturation of its predominantly immigrant members to their new political, social, and intellectual environment. The era of this crisis is the subject of a growing body of literature. The contribution of the present volume to the clarification of the issues and events involved lies in its striving for sympathetic objectivity. Its author is a Harvard-trained historian now teaching at Swarthmore. Sixty-seven pages of notes and 18 pages of bibliography are an index to the patient research that underlies his presentation. Not the least of its values is that it will help to destroy the paralyzing stereotype of Roman Catholicism in this country as a rigidly monolithic structure unscarred by internal differences and beyond the reach of the impact of public opinion. Lutherans will read with particular interest chapters 6 through 9, which discuss respectively perspectives on social change, the parochial school question, Roman Catholic intellectual life, and lay activity. ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY OF MAN. Edited by Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randall, Junior. Chicago: Phoenix Books (the University of Chicago Press), 1956. vi and 405 pages. Paper. \$1.75.

The original 1948 edition went through three printings prior to the present paperback issue. It offers an excellent way in which to discover the continuing relevance of the thought of the six distinguished Rennaissance philosophers herein introduced. Petrarch is represented by seven selections, chief of which are "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux," "On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others," and "A Disapproval of an Unreasonable Use of the Discipline of Dialectic." Lorenzo Valla, of whom Martin Luther wrote that he "is the best Italian that I have seen or discovered," is represented by the work that won for him the great Reformer's commendation, "Dialogue on Free Will." The others are the great Italian Platonist Marsilio Ficino ("Five Questions Concerning the Mind"), the immensely learned and controversial Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola

("Oration on the Dignity of Man"), the half-Averroist half-Thomist Pietro Pomponazzi ("On the Immortality of the Soul"), and the Spanish Humanist Juan Luis Vives ("A Fable About Man"). The translations are exceptionally good, the introductions and notes exceptionally helpful.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

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BRIEF NOTICES

Das Sakrament des Altars. By Kurt Plachte. Berlin: Lettner-Verlag, 1955. 270 pages. Cloth. DM 14.80. This is an era, the author points out, when interconfessional controversy has been transformed into ecumenical conversation and all the liturgical movements are exhibiting lines that show a striking tendency to converge. It is likewise an era when the question of sacrifice and its relation to the Holy Eucharist will not down. The present work is a valiant attempt to make a Lutheran contribution to the ecumenical conversation about the Eucharist that will be intelligible in the contemporary situation in Germany and Europe. The author is a veteran philosopher of religion whose Symbol und Idol established his reputation as far back as 1931.

Christianity and Symbolism. By F. W. Dillistone. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955. 320 pages. Cloth. \$4.50. The Chancellor of Liverpool Cathedral (Church of England) — widely known for his Jesus Christ and His Cross and The Structure of the Divine Society — conducts an inquiry into signs and symbolism in general with a view to evaluating the continuing usefulness of the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist as Christian symbols. Although he sees Luther's writings as contributing "a particularly valuable approach to the subject" of Baptism, it may be significant that the Lutheran approach to the other Dominical sacrament receives no attention. Granting the incontestable validity of many of the points that Dillistone makes, a Lutheran will insist that the symbolic aspect of Baptism and Holy Communion, no matter how widely understood, is not nearly so decisive an element as Dillistone — with his strong Reformed orientation — naturally makes it out to be.

The Early Church and the Coming Great Church. By John Knox. New York: Abingdon Press, 1955. 160 pages. Cloth. \$2.50. A common faith and a shared life characterized the primitive church, Knox insists in this series of Hoover Lectures, but diversity and division likewise marked it to such a degree that it was not fully united in a visible unity even in the apostolic age. Unity was something that was growing in the early church, and to that end the church used the institutions that it began to develop in the second century — the episcopate, the canon, the rule of faith. Lutheran readers are likely to dissent vigorously from some of Knox's premises, but — particularly if they have an ecumenical concern — they cannot read this book without a host of new insights.

Essays in Christian Unity 1928—54. By Henry St. John. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1955. xix and 144 pages. Cloth. \$3.00. The digits in the title indicate the years between which the essays here collected were originally published. The author is a Roman Catholic

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Dominican and a convert from the Church of England; hence his articles are understandably determined to a great extent by the mutual apologetics and polemics of the Latin-Anglican antithesis. The eighth and ninth essays, "The [Roman] Catholic Church and Ecumenism," and "The Aims of a Catholic Ecumenism," although written in this context, make some important observations on wider aspects of the ecumenical issue.

God's Men of Color: The Colored Catholic Priests of the United States 1854—1954. By Albert S. Foley. New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1955. xxii and 322 pages. Cloth. \$4.50. In the foreword Archbishop Cushing declares that "our ecclesiastical houses of study are open to every one who can serve the interests of the Church, and that considerations of color carry no weight in determining the fitness of those whom God has blessed with the beginnings of a religious vocation." It was not always so in the Roman Catholic Church in this land. Here, in moving case histories, carefully researched and reported by a capable Jesuit historian, is the story of the American Roman Catholic Church's 72 Negro priests of the last hundred years and their struggle for recognition and acceptance in the face of prejudice and opposition.

Maria oder Christus? By Otto Semmelroth. Franfurt-am-Main: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1954. 159 pages. Cloth. DM 5.80. The Jesuit author of this series of devout meditations identifies in the subtitle our Lord as the end of the church's veneration of His mother. Part One treats the Marian mystery, Part Two Marian piety. Acutely conscious of non-Roman Catholic criticism of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in his denomination, Semmelroth sets forth the role of the Mother of God in the world's redemption as appealingly as possible, without in any way denying the letter of the Marian dogmas. At the same time he issues warnings like this to his coreligionists: "The Coredemptrix must not become the Redeemer, as the devotional forms of well-intended but poorly informed venerators of the Virgin sometimes seem to suggest." (p. 80).

Religious Symbolism. Edited by F. Ernest Johnson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. ix and 263 pages. Cloth. \$2.50. Although these lectures were given at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1952—53, they are thoroughly interconfessional in their scope and interest. Among the contributors are Cyril Richardson, Marvin Halverson, Abraham Joshua Heschel, Paul Tillich ("Theology and Symbolism"), Ted Shawn ("Religious Use of the Dance"), Nathan A. Scott, Jr. ("Religious Symbolism in Contemporary Literature"), Mordecai Kaplan, John LaFarge ("The Future of Religious Symbolism—A Protestant View"). Taken as a whole the book is an important contribution to the literature of its subject.

Saint Ambrose: Letters. Translated by Mary Melchior Beyenka. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954. xviii and 513 pages. Cloth. Price not given. The 91 letters that survive from the correspondence of the great fourth-century Bishop of Milan here receive an appealing English dress. As varied in content as in their addressees, they reveal their saintly author's

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thoroughgoing charity, sympathy, modesty, justice, piety, and energy. This volume is a good way to get to know St. Ambrose.

The Sister's Guide: The Letters of Henry Suso to His Spiritual Daughters. Translated by Kathleen Goldmann. Springfield, Ill.: Templegate, 1955. 76 pages. Paper. Price not given. In an age when the discipline of many religious communities had been relaxed to an almost incredible degree, Elsbeth Stagel, a spiritual daughter of the great 14th century Dominican mystic Henry Suso, collected 27 of his letters of spiritual counsel to her and to other nuns in Das grosse Briefbuch. The present translation of 24 of these letters, with some abbreviation, is based on the best critical text of the Stagel collection. The translation is lovingly done and preserves the fresh beauty of the original to a high degree.

Symbols and Society. Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, Hudson Hoagland and R. M. MacIver. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xi and 612 pages. Cloth. \$6.00. Here are the collected papers presented and discussed at the Fourteenth Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion held at Harvard University in 1954. It continues the initial study of symbols and values broached at the thirteenth symposium. The interest of clergymen readers in the various discussions will vary, but is likely for most to center in F. S. C. Northrop's discussion of linguistic symbols and legal norms (Chapter IV), John Ely Burchard's consideration of the decline of the monumental in architecture (Chapter XII), William F. Lynch's study of the evocative symbol (Chapter XIV), John LaFarge's oration, "The True Face of Our Country" (Chapter XVI), and Harlow Shapley's lecture, "Galaxies and Their Human Worth."

Tröstet Euch der Ordination! By Gottfried Werner. Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1954. 32 pages. Paper. DM 1.20. Here is a warmhearted, deeply devout, and thoroughly theological tract by a spiritual son of Wilhelm Löhe, designed to give new zeal and enthusiasm to the Lutheran cleric who reads it — whether he be an ordinand, a newly ordained pastor, or a veteran of many ministerial years.

You Too Can Win Souls: Intimate Personal Stories of Catholics Who Shared Their Faith. By John A. O'Brien. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955. ix and 240 pages. Cloth. \$3.50. Notre Dame's O'Brien analyzes over 300 case histories of Roman Catholic lay people who were instrumental in winning their churchless friends and neighbors for Christ. Eight different techniques are outlined and illustrated. This ministry of witness is described as "not a work of proselyting but of evangelizing... not of controversy but of neighborliness, friendship and love." The book is well written and illuminating.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The mention of a book in this list acknowledges its receipt and does not preclude further discussion of its contents in the Book Review section.)

Die Botschaft des Heils im Alten Testament. By Albert Gelin. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1957. 108 pages. Cloth. DM 8.80.

The Reality of the Church. By Claude Welch. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. 254 pages. Cloth. \$3.95.

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American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life. By Thomas F. O'Dea. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. xv and 173 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

The Glorious Body of Christ. By R. B. Kuiper. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1958. 383 pages. Cloth. \$4.95.

John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics. By Georgia Harkness. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 266 pages. Paper. \$1.50.

The Last Revelation. By Colin H. Althouse. New York: Vantage Press, 1958. 108 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

The Gospel We Preach: Sermons on a Series of Gospels for the Church Year, Volume 2. By 65 Lutheran Pastors, ed. Victor Emanuel Beck, G. Erik Hagg, and Clifford Ansgar Nelson. Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1958. xv and 347 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Existence Under God. By Albert Edward Day. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 144 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

A Book of Advent. By Victor E. Beck and Paul M. Lindberg. Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1958. vii and 147 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

The Upanishads: Breath of the Eternal. Selected and translated from the original Sanskrit by Swami Prabhavananda and Frederick Manchester. New York: The New American Library, 1957. 128 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

The World Crisis and American Responsibility. By Reinhold Niebuhr, ed. Ernest W. Lefever. New York: Association Press, 1958. 128 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

Jabbok. By Robert Hoyer. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 177 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

Romance in Christian Marriage. By W. Clark Ellzey. New York: Association Press, 1958. 127 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

Miracles: A Preliminary Study. By C. S. Lewis. Abridged edition. New York: Association Press, 1958. 128 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

Think About These Things. By Robert D. Hershey. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. ix and 198 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

What Psychology Says About Religion. By Wayne E. Oates. New York: Association Press, 1958. 128 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

I Remember Jesus. By Randolph Crump Miller. Greenwich: The Seabury Press, 1958. 96 pages. Cloth. \$2.25.

Witness of the Light: The Life of Pope Pius XII. By Katherine Burton. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. vii and 248 pages. Cloth. \$4.00.

Muhammad and the Islamic Tradition. By Emile Dermenghem; translated from the French by Jean M. Watt. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 191 pages. Paper. \$1.50.

The Nineteenth Century in Europe: Background and the Roman Catholic Phase. Volume I. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. xiv and 498 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

The Life of Our Divine Lord. By Howard F. Vos. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958. 223 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Preach the Word: True to the Bible Sermon Outline Series. Volume I. By Billy Apostolon. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 97 pages. Paper. \$1.00.

Minister's Library Handbook. By Jay Smith. Boston: W. A. Wilde Co., 1958. 148 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

Is It True? By M. E. Hollensen. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1958. vii and 197 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

Marks of Distinction. By Edward Kuhlmann. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1958. 161 pages. Cloth. Price not given.

The Making of the Meiji Constitution: The Oligarchs and the Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868—91. By George M. Beckmann. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1957. 158 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

Birth and Rebirth: The Religious Meanings of Initiation in Human Culture. By Mircea Eliade; translated from the French by William R. Trask. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. xv and 175 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815—71. By Theodore S. Hamerow. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958. x and 347 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

Do Jehovah's Witnesses and the Bible Agree? By David H. Grigg. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1958. 250 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

A Soldier's Message. By D.C.N. New York: Comet Press Books, 1958. 156 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Together We Pray. By J. C. K. Preus and Alvin N. Rogness. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 40 pages. Paper. 75 cents.

Devotions and Prayers of Johann Arndt. Selected and translated by John Joseph Stoudt. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 110 pages. Cloth. \$1.50.

Talks to Young People. By C. B. Eavey. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 110 pages. Cloth. \$1.75.

Steps to Christian Understanding, ed. R. J. W. Bevan. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. xii and 212 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Theology of the Old Testament. By Edmond Jacob, trans. Arthur W. Heathcote and Philip J. Allcock. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. 368 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

I Believe in the Holy Spirit. By Ernest F. Scott. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 92 pages. Cloth. \$1.25.

Christian Marriage Today: A Comparison of Roman Catholic and Protestant Views. By Mario Colacci. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. x and 182 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Evangelisches Kirchenlexicon, ed. Heinz Brunotte and Otto Weber. Fascicles 30/31: Pommern-Reformation. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958. Columns 257—512. Paper. DM 9.60.

Sermons on Genesis. By Harold A. Bosley. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. xvi and 206 pages. Cloth. \$3.75.

The Amplified New Testament. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958. 955 pages. Cloth. \$3.95.

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